

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

Section I of this volume contains new texts of Greek drama: **4639** offers a tragic *rhesis*, probably by Euripides, **4640** plot-summaries of two tragedies (both items may have some connection with the lost *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*); **4641–6** continue our publication of comedy, **4641** a useful addition to Act II of Menander's *Epitrepontes*, **4642** and **4643** perhaps assignable to *Kitharistes* and *Hymnis*; in unassigned fragments we hear of a patriot and shouting (**4645**) and of a formal betrothal (**4646**). The section continues with unknown prose texts: a rhetorical exercise, *Enkomion of the Horse* (**4647**), and a learned treatise on star-signs as evidenced in Greek poets (**4648**); **4649–51** also quote Hesiod, while **4652** contains a glossary to the Hesiodic *Scutum*.

The Hesiodic reference continues in Section II. **4653–66** include all the remaining papyri of *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and *Shield* thus far identified in the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society; their textual interest lies above all in their omission or inclusion of verses suspected by ancient scholars and modern editors. We have added two rarities (**4667–8**): a fragment with *Homeric Hymns* 18 and 7 (consecutively), and the first known papyrus of *Batrachomyomachia*.

Section III contains three writing exercises and the like, chosen for their palaeographic interest (**4669–71**); and three pieces of erotic magic (**4672–4**).

The documentary texts in Section IV come mostly from the fifth century AD (a period from which we have relatively few papyri). They have been chosen primarily for their chronological and prosopographical interest. Many provide the earliest or latest known dates for the use in Egypt of certain consulates for dating purposes; this and any other relevant information has been made available to Professors Bagnall and Worp for the new edition of their *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*. Others attest Oxyrhynchite magnates with titles of nobility and so offer glimpses of the provincial élite of the Later Roman Empire. **4703–4** provide rare examples of Oxyrhynchite documents from the period of Persian rule in Egypt. At the same time the texts illustrate the continuing flow of essential business: loans, supplies of wine, leases of land and houses and individual rooms, the maintenance of irrigation machines (**4697**) and the transport down river of the grain owed to the state (**4685**).

Dr Gonis and Dr Obbink prepared the indexes for the literary and subliterate texts (**4641–2** were indexed by Dr R. Nünlist); Ms L. Capponi and Dr Gonis indexed the documentary texts. The plates have been produced from digital images created by Dr R. Hatzilambrou and Mr P. Mickletham.

We record our gratitude to all the contributors; to Dr Jeffrey Dean for the deftness and precision with which he formatted the text; and to Messrs Charlesworth for their dispatch in the printing and binding. Dr Rea and Professor Thomas read and commented on large parts of the volume in draft; Dr Coles worked through the texts of Comedy and Magic, greatly to their benefit. The British Academy has readopted The Oxyrhynchus Papyri as one of its Major Research Projects; but we have a great additional debt to the Arts and Humanities Research Board for the generous grant which has made it possible to continue the whole enterprise.

The signatures below reflect a reconstitution of the editorial board. In future the Advisory Editors will contribute by reading and commenting on the material at an early stage; the General Editors will carry through the final revision and the process of production.

October 2003

R. A. COLES  
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PA  
3315  
.883  
896  
1898  
v.68

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HA = H. Amirav  
 DC = D. Colomo  
 NG = N. Gonis  
 HM = H. Maehler  
 DO = D. Obbink  
 MvR = M. van Rossum

CFLA = C. F. L. Austin  
 BC = B. Currie  
 EWH = E. W. Handley  
 FM = F. Maltomini  
 PJP = P. J. Parsons  
 MS = M. Salemenou  
 AW = A. Wouters

LC = L. Capponi  
 KD = K. Doulamis  
 AK = A. Kerkhecker  
 RN = R. Nünlist  
 JR = J. Radicke  
 CS = C. Schuler

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄ, στρ(ατηγός) represents the abbreviation στρς
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
'αβγ'	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, 2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### a. TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

#### 4639. TRAGEDY (EURIPIDES?)

73/9(a)

fr. 1 9.5 × 19 cm

First/second century  
Plate I

Four pieces in the same hand, possibly from the same roll. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. The backs are blank; *κόλλησις* in fr. 2. The sequence of the fragments cannot be established. They are here numbered according to size.

Fr. 1 preserves parts of two successive columns: (i) Foot of a column, line endings (6 or 7 lines; the blank space below line 2 allows for one or two shorter lines). (ii) Line beginnings (20 lines) and full height of a column, with an upper margin of 2.5 cm, and a lower margin of 4 cm. Beginnings of trimeters. Towards the foot, the column slightly slopes to the left. Fr. 2: upper part of a column, 12 lines and an upper margin of max. 2 cm. This is the middle section of some trimeters (or tetrameters?), the area around the caesura. At the start of each line, the first metrum is lost. Line 6 is blank. It may have contained an *exclamatio extra metrum*, now broken off. Fr. 3: remains of 4 lines. Fr. 4: traces of one line (two letters).

The fragments are written in the large and handsome rounded capital usually called 'Roman Uncial'. This is an elegant specimen, though not as accomplished as I 20, LXIV 4410, 4411, P. Ryl. III 514, the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 13) — or even P. Tebt. II 265. The closest parallels are XXIII 2354, XXXII 2624, XLV 3229, LIX 3972, and esp. LXII 4301. Cf. also VIII 1084, XI 1362, XX 2260, XXX 2511, XXXII 2634, XXXVII 2801, 2805, 2807, XLV 3214, XLIX 3447, LIX 3963, 3964. Somewhat less formal (and perhaps earlier?): V 844, VIII 1090, XV 1806, XXIII 2378, XXVII 2468, XXXII 2623, XXXVII 2818, XLI 2944, XLVII 3325, P. Ryl. I 60, III 482.

This style is highly formal and calligraphic. There are no ligatures. Letters are strictly bilinear, except φ (ψ is not attested here). With the exception of ι, they would all fit into a square that is more or less equal for every letter.

α and λ are very similar: the cross-bar of α is high up. Descending obliques of α, α, λ begin from above the apex. ε, ο, ο, c are carefully rounded. μ is deep and rounded with a bowl-shaped centre. The loop of φ is a broad, well-rounded oval. The letters are richly decorated. There are serifs and finials at the end of almost every stroke, including the top oblique of κ and the caps of ε, c (but no blob on the cross-bar of ε). There is also a clear, though not extreme, tendency to 'shading': verticals and descending obliques are thick, horizontals and rising obliques are fine.

There are numerous lectional signs. Accents: fr. 1 i 5, ii 1, 2, 10, 14, 19; fr. 2.1, 3, 8, 10; fr. 3.1? Breathings (Turner's form 1): fr. 1 ii 2, 5, 8, 14, possibly fr. 2.2. Accents and

breathings are usually written exactly above the letter, or over the middle of a diphthong (fr. 1 i 5, ii 14; fr. 2.1, 10). Sometimes they are moved slightly to the right: fr. 1 ii 5, 8 (br.), and fr. 2.3, 8 (acc.).

Diaeresis (inorganic): fr. 1 ii 2; fr. 2.12. Apostrophe (to the right above the letter, not between letters): fr. 1 ii 1, 8, 14. Punctuation ( $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta$ ): fr. 1 i 1, 7, ii 6; fr. 2.8, 9. *Scriptio plena*: fr. 1 ii 2 (but not fr. 1 ii 1, 3, 8, 14; fr. 2.7). *adscriptum* is nowhere required (but see fr. 1 ii 20 n.).

Iotacism: probably fr. 2.5. Correction: fr. 1 ii 3 — no cancellation, just written above (see n.). The correction seems to have been made by the scribe himself:  $\kappa$  and  $\lambda$  are a little thinner and less formal (presumably because they are written smaller), but the ink appears to be the same. Diaereses and  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$  must have been written with the text: they are well-spaced, thick blobs. The other signs are thinner: the spacing suggests that they were added later; the ink suggests that this was done by the same hand.

This was a roll carefully written in an ambitious style. It was extensively marked, punctuated, and corrected by the scribe himself. The layout was generous, with ample margins. A beautiful copy — perhaps a luxury edition of a classic? What was its content?

Fr. 1 contains the beginnings of trimeters, fr. 2 the middle of a column of trimeters (or tetrameters?). No certain instances of resolution; *correptio Attica* in fr. 1 ii 2, but apparently not in fr. 1 ii 7. Metre and language suggest tragedy. If so, the most likely candidate (at this time) is Euripides. The diction supports this (see comm., esp. fr. 1 ii 8 n.). I find nothing to contradict it. If Euripides, which play?

Fr. 1 preserves part of a  $\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . The speaker seems to remain the same throughout, but it does not emerge who s/he is. When the text begins, s/he addresses a group (fr. 1 ii 1f.), presumably the chorus, about someone else. S/he then addresses this person: first indirectly (fr. 1 ii 3–7; note the 3rd pers. sg. imperatives), then directly (from fr. 1 ii 8; taken up in 12? 14, 15? 16?).

The speaker complains of  $\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  (fr. 1 ii 2). The tone is angry and dismissive (note the series of asyndetic imperatives). The opponent is sent away (fr. 1 ii 4f., and probably 8) on horseback (1.6). Is he (fr. 1 ii 1  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ [ν?]) the speaker's son (fr. 1 ii 19 e.g.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda[\eta\mu\alpha?$ ; cf. fr. 1 ii 20), banished from the speaker's house (fr. 1 ii 19 e.g.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda[\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\nu?$ )? Is he absent or present during the speech? Has he just left, or is he on the point of leaving, perhaps after an  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ ? And what is the relevance of the agricultural references in fr. 1 ii 7f.?

The beginning of the speech is lost:  $\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \delta'$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ [ν (? fr. 1 ii 1; see n.) can hardly have been its opening words. Its conclusion *may* survive in fr. 2.1–5. Fr. 2.3  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  would suit the end of the speech (cf. the first-person references at fr. 1 ii 14, 16, 17, 19). Fr. 2.9 is blank: probably because it contained an *exclamatio extra metrum* (presumably the reaction of a new speaker). When the text resumes, the speaker has changed: 2.8 ] $\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$  strongly suggests the chorus. In their first line (2.7), they address the previous speaker as their lord and master:  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau(\alpha)$ . If the speaker of fr. 1 is the same as in fr. 2.1–5, it follows that he is male (2.3, 7), and a figure of authority.

If taken together like this, fr. 1 and 2 (can be made to) cohere closely — enough, in fact, to yield the outline of a scene: the end of a  $\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , and the reaction of the chorus. This

is a moment of great dramatic tension. The speaker is agitated (and obviously concerned with, perhaps for, himself: fr. 1 ii 11? 14? 16, 17, 19; 2.3, 4? 5?). In his attack, he moves from addressing the chorus to indirect and then direct address of his opponent (who may well be absent). Tension is mounting.

Where does this scene belong? Who are the characters? The speaker is addressed as  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ , 'master, king, lord' (E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford 1996) 95–8). A king denouncing, perhaps banishing, an hybridic horseman, possibly his son? Feats of equine prowess may suggest the *Bellerophon*tes; there are other possibilities, too — perhaps the following is worth mentioning. The speaker could be Theseus, the target of his abuse Hippolytus. The fragments could come from the *Verleumdungsszene* of *Ἰππόλυτος Καλυπτόμενος* (with Hippolytus absent; cf. Sen. *Ph.* 929–44), or from the  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$  (with Hippolytus present or just leaving; cf. Barrett's collection of the fragments of the first *Hipp.* in his edition of E. *Hipp.* pp. 18–26, esp. L and M, also N, O, Q). Note that metrical considerations seem to rule out a reference to the curse in fr. 1 ii 9  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho$ ]; and that the temptation to supply  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ ]νῶν  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau(\alpha)$  at fr. 2.7 should be resisted:  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\alpha$  is "normally used alone" (Dickey 98).

Fr. 1  
col. i

·  
·  
]θ.[.]c.  
].ικακ.[  
] [·  
]· [·  
5 ]νοῦc  
]c  
].·  
foot

col. ii

top  
ε̂ατεδ'αυτο[  
εατεῦβρίζ[  
μητεικαλ<sup>c</sup>[  
οριζετωπρ[  
5 καιγηcόπο[  
ιππευετω.[  
γυησαροτρο[

ε̂ατε δ' αὔτο[  
ε̂αθ' ὑβρίζε[ιν  
μήτ' εἰ κακ[  
ὀρίζετω πρ[  
καὶ γῆc ὄπο[  
ἰππευέτω· π[  
γύης ἀροτρο[

4 αλλῆρπ'εσα . [ αλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς ἀγ[  
 φιλωσκαταρ[ φίλωσ καταρ[  
 10 χωτανπαρη[ χῶταν παρη[  
 νικαγεπιστ[ νικᾶν ἐπιστ[α  
 ηταυταβουλ[ η ταυταβουλ[  
 καιμηδενα[ καὶ μηδενα[  
 ἀγ'εἶαμοικ[ ἄγ' εἶά μοικ[  
 15 εχθρωνκα[ ἐχθρων κα[  
 ηκαιδοκωσ[ η καὶ δοκῶ σ[  
 επισταμαι [ ἐπίσταμαι [  
 ειγαρπαθει . [ εἰ γὰρ παθει . [  
 ουμόνμελ[ τοῦμόν μελ[  
 20 ωσουτεπαιδ[ ὡς οὔτεπαιδ[  
 foot

## Fr. 2

top  
 ]τόιησανω . [ ]τοίησανωσ[  
 ]ν . κρεσσονω . [ ]ν ὦν κρε(ι)σσονω . [  
 ]εμαυτονεξεπί[ ]εμαυτὸν ἐξεπί[σταμαι  
 ]ντακαικαθημε[ ]ντα καὶ καθημε[  
 5 ] . τρειβονταμη . [ ] . τρίβοντα μη . [  
 ]  
 ]νωνδεσποτεξ[ ]νων δέσποτ' ἐξ[  
 ]ώμεσθα . μ . [ . ]εστ[  
 ] . ν . μηδ . [ . . . ] . γ . [  
 10 ]νυχ . [ . . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [  
 ]ντη[  
 ] . ὑμε[

## Fr. 3

.  
 ] . ρῶ[  
 ] αν[

## Fr. 4

.  
 ] λ . [  
 .

]ταυ[  
 ] . ενδο[

## Fr. 1

col. i 1 after θ, rising oblique or arc with trace of horizontal (?) in mid-line (ε?) 2 ], foot of a descending oblique, or serif ], back of a circular letter without cross-bar: ο, ω 7 foot of a descending oblique and μέγη

col. ii 2 ], traces of left-hand arc of a circular letter: ε, ο, ω 3 κ above λ, but λ not cancelled 5 dot below α (accidental?) 6 ], upright with horizontal joining at the top and projecting to the right: left-hand part of π rather than τ 7 φ], too far closed for ω, and one can see where the right-hand arc joins the left 8 ], upright with horizontal joining at the top and projecting to the right: left-hand part of τ or π 18 ], slightly sloping vertical with serif at the foot 19 ], trace high up in the line, probably the tip of a horizontal

## Fr. 2

1 ], back of a circular letter without cross-bar: ο or c (probably not ω); if φ, part of the upright should be visible 2 ]ν ., first perhaps ω, with ink high up in the line; second perhaps ν (foot of left, top of right vertical and traces of the right-hand angular join) ], trace in mid-line and on bottom, with serif at the foot 4 η, the verticals only 5 ], top of an upright: η, ι, ν 8 dot above the right-hand tip of the first μ (accidental?) after the second μ, the top of an upright 9 ]ν, right-hand arc of a closed circular letter without cross-bar: ο or ω δ ], back of a circular letter with cross-bar: ε or ε ]γ, tip of a rising oblique: γ; of κ and χ, one might expect to see the lower oblique, too γ ], back of a circular letter without cross-bar: ο or c (probably not ω) 10 χ ], a rising oblique: λ, λ some traces high up in the line 12 ], traces (partly on lower layer) of an open circular letter with cross-bar: ε?

## Fr. 3

1 ], horizontal trace at bottom line level trace to the left above ω too thick for an accent? too far to the left? 4 ], traces in mid and on bottom line

## Fr. 4

1 back of a circular letter with cross-bar: ε or ε

(The following commentary is greatly indebted to the edition of Richard Kannicht (in his forthcoming *TrGF* 5), and to a first draft by PJP.)

## Fr. 1

col. i

- 1 ]θε[ ]c Kannicht.  
 2 ]αι κακ . [ Kannicht.

col. ii

1 εἴατε: either 'let alone' (frequently with impersonal object, but also personal) or 'permit' (with infinitive, as *E. Med.* 313f τήνδε δὲ χθόνα | εἴατε μ' οἰκεῖν, *Tr.* 466f εἴατέ με(ε) . . . κείσθαι πεσοῦσαν, *S. Tr.* 815 εἴατ' ἀφέρπειν (αὐτήν scil.), *Ph.* 1055 εἴατε μίμνειν (αὐτόν scil.), all beginning a trimeter). ὑβρίζε[ω (2) favours the latter, and establishes the combative tone of the imperatives (parallel construction supported by anaphora).



δ' shows that this is not the beginning of the speech; inceptive δέ is restricted to prose (Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 172 (iii)).

αὐτο[ : αὐτό[ν would provide a subject for the infinitive suggested by 2 (e.g. *ἔατε δ' αὐτό[ν πόλλ' ὀνειδίξειν ἐμῆ*), who could be identified with the subject of the third-person imperatives in 4 and 6. But of course contexts could be imagined for *αὐτό*, *αὐτο[ύς*, *αὐτο[ίς*.

2 *ἔαθ' ὄβριζέ[ω*: on asyndeton with anaphora, see Kühner–Gerth, *Grammatik* II 345 c.

3 *μήτ' εἰ* seems certain, although the scribe did not mark the elision. *μήτε* here may imply a balancing *μήτε* (*γάρ*) in 2 (Kannicht); it cannot be a sentence-connective, adding a third imperative to *ἔατε . . . ἔατε* or introducing *ὀριζέτω*.

καλ<sup>κ</sup>[ : on confusion of opposites, see Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 264–6; *fr.* 378.2; 554a.4; 682.3.

4 *ὀριζέτω*, not *ὀριζε*, *ὀριζέτ'* etc., as 6 shows (there the articulation is guaranteed by punctuation). This may well be the beginning of a new sentence, see n. on *fr.* I ii 3. If so, there is asyndeton: probably because *ὀριζέτω* continues (with a change of person) the series of imperatives, and restates or interprets the preceding commands.

*ἵππεύετω* suggests that *ὀριζέτω* expresses motion (then *πρός* Kannicht). Possible senses include (a) 'traverse' (following the boundary between two points) and (b) 'separate from' (draw a boundary between): 'incertum utrum [a] *Med.* 432–5 *ἐπλευσας . . . διδύμους ὀρίσασα . . . πέτρας* (ubi *Σ Β ἀντί τοῦ διαστείλασα καὶ διεξελθοῦσα τὰς Συμπληγάδας*) ~ A. *Suppl.* 540–6 (Kerkhecker) an [b] *Hel.* 128 *χειμῶν ἄλλος ἄλλον (πορθμὸν scil.) ὤρισεν* (~ *ibid.* 1670) vel *Heu.* 940–1 *ναῦς . . . μ' ἀπὸ γὰς ὤρισεν Ἰλιάδος conferendum*' (Kannicht). But (c) moral 'definition' (*Heu.* 801 *ζώμεν ἄδικα καὶ δίκαι' ὀρισμένοι*) may not be excluded (PJP).

5 *ὄπο[ : ὄπο[ν* (E. *Heucl.* 19, 46 PJP)? *ὄπο[ιον* Kannicht.

7 '[A.] *Prot.* 708 *ἀνηρότους γύας*, Moschion. 97 F 6,9 *ἀρότ'ροις . . . ἐτέμεντο | . . . βῶλος* (Kannicht).

8 'locutio Euripidis propria: *Andr.* 433 = *Heu.* 1019 = F 86 col. II 4 [150,1 Austin] = F 773,10 [*Phaëth.* 54 Diggle] *ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς οἶκος* ~ *Cycl.* 345 *ἀλλ' ἔρπετ' εἰς* ~ *Andr.* 1263 *ἀλλ' ἔρπε Δελφῶν ἐς . . . πόλιν*, *Tr.* 92 *ἀλλ' ἔρπ' Ὀλυμπον*, *Hel.* 477 *ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἀπ' οἶκον* (brevius *IT* 699 = 1411 = S. *Trach.* 616 *ἀλλ' ἔρπε* ~ S. *Trach.* 819 *ἀλλ' ἔρπέτω* ~ *OC* 1643 *ἀλλ' ἔρπεθ'*); de S. F 109 *fr.* 10,4 ~ *adesp.* F 632,35 *ἀλλ' ἐρ.* [non liquet' (Kannicht). E. *Med.* 403 *ἔρπ' ἐς τὸ δεινόν* (PJP).

*ἀγ[ροῦς* Kannicht. This would suit the rustic detail of 7, though *ἀγ[ρας* (E. *Ion* 1161, *Suppl.* 885) could also be thought of (PJP). Hunting on horseback, mentioned in passing at X. *Cyn.* II.3, might suit Hippolytus.

9 *φίλωσ* (imit. *trim Hipp.* 597 *φίλωσ καλῶς δ' οὐ*) pot. qu. *φίλ' ὦς* (Kannicht).

*καταρχήν*, *κατάρχου*, *κατάρ[ξας*, *κατ' ἀρχάς* etc. (PJP).

10 E. *Alc.* 356 *παρή* (PJP). *παρή[ις* δέ sim., *παρή[τε* (Antiphan. *fr.* 94.2 K.–A. fin. *trim ὅταν παρή[ς*) (Kannicht).

11 *νικᾶν ἐπιστ[α : ἐπίστ[ας* (E. *Ion* 650 *παῦσα λόγων τῶνδ'*, *εὐτυχεῖν δ' ἐπίστασο*; PJP)? *Alc.* 61 x — *ἐπίστασας* δέ, *Hipp.* 380 x — *ἐπιστάμεσθα*, *ibid.* 919 x — *ἐπίστασθ'*) (Kannicht).

12 *βούλ[ει? ἢ ταῦτα* vel *ἢ ταῦτὰ βούλ[ηι?* Cf. *Phoen.* 386 *ἄ γὰρ σὺ βούλη, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ . . . φίλα*, *IT* 614 *ἐπεὶ δὲ βούλη ταῦτα* (Kannicht). But *ταῦτ' ἀβουλ[* is also possible (S. *El.* 546 *οὐ ταῦτ' ἀβούλου καὶ κακοῦ γνώμην πατρός;* PJP).

13 *μηδένα*, *μηδέν' α[*, *μηδέν α[*, *μηδ' ἐν α[?*

14 The scribe writes *ἀγ'εἰα* to clarify the articulation around the exclamation (not *ἄγει*, not *εἴα*). The aspiration of *εἰα* recurs in other papyri of drama (S. *Euryph.* *fr.* 221.4; 222b *fr.* 7.4; *Ichn.* 314.93, 174, 436 R.; *Trag. adesp.* 655.40 K.–S.; Epich. *fr.* 113.177 K.–A.), and is implied in the etymology stated at Schol. A *Il.* 9.262a (Herodian? hence Hdn. I 495 Lentz), which derives *εἰα* from *εἰ*, *τοῦ τόνου ἀλλαγέντος εἰς περιεπόμενον ἀναγκαίως καὶ τῆς δασειας Ἀττικῶς προσελθούσης*. Kannicht on E. *fr.* 693.1; Diggle on E. *Phaëth.* 221. Cf. Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1429–33 and 1560–4, and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1650.

*ἀγ' εἰά μοι κ[* seems the most likely articulation; but if we cannot rely on the scribe to mark elisions, *μ' οἰ κ[* or *μ' οὐκ[* come into consideration.

15 *ἐχθρῶν κά[κιστε? ἔχθρ' ὄν?*

16 *ἦ or ἦ? ε[οί?*

18 *παθεῖν* [= *Ba.* 492 *εἴφ' ὅτι παθεῖν δεῖ*], *πάθει π[* sim.? (Kannicht). E. *Hyps. fr.* 60 i 41 B. *αἰ[χρῶν γὰρ ἐδ μὲν ἐξεπίστασθαι παθεῖν* (PJP).

19 *μέλ[αθρον* (= *Ba.* 1309) Kerkhecker, *μέλ[ει σοι* sim.? (Kannicht). *μέλ[ημα?*

20 *οὔτεπαιδ[*: most obviously, *οὔτε παιδ[*. But since the scribe does not always mark elision (note *fr.* I ii 3 *μητρεῖ*), *οὔτ' ἐπαιδ[ῆ*, *ἐπιδ[ῶν* or the like may not be excluded. ('neither by enchantment nor by . . . will you change my decision'; cf. A. *Ag.* 69–71, where Fraenkel suggested *exempli gratia: οὔθ' ὑποκαίων οὔτ' ἐπιλείβων | οὔτ' ἐπαοιδαῖς ἀπύρων ἱερῶν | ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλλει*.)

Fr. 2

1 Kannicht suggests e.g. *ἀπι[τοίης*, *ὕλακ[τοίης*, *αἰ[τοίης*, *ζη[τοίης*, *νοσ[τοίης* ἄν. *ἐπ[τοίησαν* is not found in tragedy.

2 *κρε(ι)σκόγων* Kannicht; 'cf. Dionys. *trag.* 76 F 6 *κρεῖσσον* codd.: KPECCON PSI IX 1093,52–3 (cf. Thraette *Gr. Ath. Inscr.* 2,309) . . . Ion. Ch. 19 F 38,3 x – ν *ἄλλων κρεῖσσόνων*' (Kannicht).

3 *ἐξεπί[σταμαι* Kannicht; he compares *Trag. adesp.* 327.1 K.–S. *ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ κλύειν ἐπίσταμαι | . . .*

4 *καθ' ἡμέ[ραν*, *καθημέ[ρον?*

5 Not *ἐ]κτρι-*.

6 'extra metrum e.g. *εἰέν' vel φεῦ'* (Kannicht).

7 'δέεσποτ' hac sede vs. *Hel.* 1627' (Kannicht).

A. KERKHECKER

#### 4640. HYPOTHESES TO A THESEUS AND HIPPOLYTUS?

100/1(a)

14.5 × 16.4 cm

First/early second century  
Plate II

Two columns of stories about Theseus and Hippolytus written along the fibres of a papyrus roll that in the second column overlaps with and augments the text preserved in P. Mich. inv. 6222A (M. Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests* no. 7). The roll was broken or torn vertically at the line-beginnings of col. II, but was repaired (with slight text loss) in antiquity. The back is blank except for a patch attached in order to repair the break and strengthen the roll. (For testimonia and examples of repair of papyrus rolls by means of glued papyrus patches in antiquity see E. Puglia, *La cura del libro nel mondo antico: Guaste e restauri del rotolo di papiro* (Naples 1997) chaps. 2–3 pp. 29–79.) Running the full height of the fragment, the patch shows a section c.3 cm wide from the end of a column of fragmentary accounts in a documentary script written along the fibres and oriented in the same direction as the writing on the front. The hand of the documentary text is of a type usually assigned to the second/third century AD, making it possible that the text on the front could have been in use for as much as a century or more.

The script belongs to the plain round style represented by Roberts, *GLH* 9c (late first century BC), 10c (AD 66) and 14 first hand (earlier second century?). It is bilinear in effect (α, β, Δ, λ project above and β, ρ, γ, φ sometimes project below the line). The nose of α (looped at left in the manner of hands of the first century BC – first century AD) plunges

steeply below the line. The rounded letters are circular, becoming closely written and vertically compressed toward ends of lines in order to leave an even right-hand margin: some line-ends show more oval forms and tiny omicrons.  $\alpha$  at beginning of words is frequently enlarged, with a well-developed loop connecting the left down-strokes and the cross-strokes. The right-hand oblique of  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  projects above the apex. Mid-stroke of  $\epsilon$  extends beyond the opening; sometimes it makes contact with the inside of the bowl and sometimes stands clear of the left-hand arc.  $\theta$ : the mid-stroke never significantly exceeds the sides.  $\eta$  has a high cross-bar, while the right side of  $\pi$  is markedly curved. There is a variety of delicately placed decorative curls, hooks, blobs, half-serifs and a few full serifs. No clear shading.

There are no lectional signs, but some small spaces are found between words: cf. i 3 before  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , i 12 before  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , i 14 before and after  $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  and ii 12 before  $\alpha\pi$ ]. Col. i 3, 4 and 14 have small line-fillers and above the heading in i 19 are some decorative strokes. A correction has been made supralinearly in i 1 and a cancellation in ii 8 is marked by dots above the letters. It is not possible to distinguish the hand of the corrections from that of the text. Iota adscript occurs in i 4, but is not used in i 3 and 16, and there are some itacistic writings ( $\epsilon\iota$  instead of  $\iota$ ). Elision is employed without indication in i 1, ii 8 and 13. In the first two cases, it has caused a problem in copying.

The columns had at least 21 lines (inferred from the fact that there must have been several lines of the following hypothesis in col. i before ii 1). The lines in col. i extended to at least 42 letters and probably contained more. Those of col. ii contained 655–70 letters if the text here closely replicated that of P. Mich. 6222A, and if that text has been correctly restored by its editor at 632 letters per line (see on col. ii). The surviving upper margin of 4 cm shows the column number 38 ( $\lambda\eta$ ) above the first column. We can deduce from this that the part of the roll preceding this column must have been around 7.5 metres, assuming a column width of 6.20 cm (18 cm as reconstructed + 2 cm intercolumnar space  $\times$  37).

The text does not exhibit the type of headings usually found in the Euripidean hypotheses (see on i 19), while P. Mich. inv. 6222A preserves no headings. It could be one of three types: (i) Euripidean hypotheses; (ii) mixed hypotheses; (iii) mythographical prose stories.

(i) Euripidean hypotheses. The two stories strongly resemble the Euripidean hypotheses in style and wording and they are more extensive than those on the same characters in the other mythographical accounts. Second, we know that Euripides wrote plays on Theseus (cf. below) and Hippolytus. The title at i 19 (apparently a heading introducing a story that continues in col. ii, rather than an end-title of the text in col. i) could be restored as  $\text{Ἰππόλυτος}$  (or, more likely,  $\text{Ἰππόλυτος πρῶτος}$ )  $E[\upsilon\rho\iota\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon]$  (see note). If correct, this would imply that the preceding story summarized a play by some other dramatist, making it unlikely that both hypotheses concerned Euripidean plays. This might point to:

(ii) mixed hypotheses. The first story could be a hypothesis of Sophocles' *Theseus* (cf. below) followed by a hypothesis of Euripides' *Hippolytus*. An argument against this option is the fact that we do not have other examples of such mixed collections, while there are many papyri with Euripidean hypotheses, e.g. XXVII 2455, 2457, LII 3650–3652, LX

4017 and PSI XII 1286 (for additional examples see LII 3653 introd. p. 30; collected by Van Rossum-Steenbeek (*Greek Readers' Digests* nos. 1–16); LII 3653 (no. 17 Van Rossum-Steenbeek) gives two Sophoclean hypotheses in the same style.

(iii) We cannot exclude the possibility that we are dealing not with hypotheses but with unspecified mythographical prose stories ordered alphabetically or thematically. These stories may be related in one way or another to the tragedies and/or hypotheses.

As regards the first story, two plays concerned with the story of Theseus and Ariadne come into consideration: Sophocles' or Euripides' *Theseus* (the plays attested for Achaeus and Hera[ ], *TrGF* I 20 F 18 and 37, are not likely to appear in the papyri). Sophocles' *Minos* (F 407) does not seem to have dealt with our episode.

(a) Sophocles' *Theseus*. Apart from the single quotation (F 246) there is XXVII 2452 (*TrGF* 4 F 730 a–g). These fragments have been ascribed to Sophocles for linguistic reasons, whereas T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967) 106 favours Euripidean authorship. We learn from these fragments that Ariadne pities the young Athenians (because they are the tribute to the Minotaur; cf. 730 c.15) and Eriboea asks for pity (730 a–b); Theseus asserts that someone, presumably the Minotaur, will be caught (730 c), and he leaves (730 d); a celestial phenomenon is described (730 e) and at 730 f mention is made of someone's wishes. These data are not incompatible with our text, although the latter does not seem to mention Eriboea, a celestial phenomenon or wishes. The names of Minos, Daedalus and Athena, on the other hand, are absent in fr. 730 a–g.

(b) Euripides' *Theseus*. We know that Euripides wrote a play called *Theseus*; cf. Eur. fr. 381–90 N<sup>2</sup>; Mette, *Lustrum* 23–4 (1981–2) 130–34 = fr. 493–513 and cf. L 3530 (= F 386 b in Kannicht, *TrGF* 5, forthcoming). The fragments do not give much information: the scene must be Crete and the play deals with Theseus, Minos, the Minotaur and the tribute. Wilamowitz's ideas about Theseus and his three wishes, by which the *Aegeus*, *Theseus* and *Hipp.* I would have been connected, are not supported by the fragments; cf. Webster, 105–6. Eur. fr. 1001 N<sup>2</sup>, a fragment about the thread, may also belong to this play. Fr. 388 N<sup>2</sup> is concerned with pious love. We do not know the speaker of these words nor the addressee, but this fragment suggests, as Webster, 107, argues, that Theseus is warned or warns himself not to abandon Athens for the love of Ariadne. Webster refers to Erika Simon who offered the idea that this fragment comes from a final speech by Athena. It is tempting to connect this idea with our text (see commentary on i 16), but we must remember that our story may have nothing to do with Euripides' play.

On 2452 see above. 3530 is not very helpful: it is probably part of a messenger-speech and may belong either to Euripides' *Aegeus* or to his *Theseus*: 'The messenger describes his vantage-point (2–3), then the beast (5–9), then Theseus (10 ff.) stripped for action'.

For the story of Theseus and Ariadne in general, see F. Brommer, *Theseus: die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur* (Darmstadt 1982); LIMC III Addenda and VII (s.v. Ariadne and Theseus); C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire Athénien* (Lausanne 1990) 78–116; S. Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy and the Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1997).

Until 14 the text seems to tell the familiar story: Theseus kills the Minotaur with the

help of Ariadne and Daedalus; Ariadne wants to be taken to Athens. From this point (14) onwards, it is unclear what happens; cf. commentary.

Several summaries (referred to in the notes) tell the myth of Theseus and Hippolytus in wording arguably similar to the papyrus: e.g. Apollod. *Epit.* 1.8–9:

ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Κρήτην (cf. i 1), Ἀριάδνη θυγάτηρ Μίνωος ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν συμπράσσειν (so S: περάσειν E) ἐπαγγέλλεται, ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃ γυναικα αὐτὴν ἔξειν ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὄρκοις Θησέως δέεται Δαιδάλου μηνύσαι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τὴν ἔξοδον (cf. i 3–4). ὑποθεμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, λίνον εἰσιόντι Θησεὶ δίδωσι τοῦτο ἑξάψακ Θησεὺς τῆς θύρας ἐφελκόμενος εἰσῆμι. καταλαβὼν δὲ Μινώταυρον ἐν ἐσχάτῳ μέρει τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παίων πυγμαῖς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐφελκόμενος δὲ τὸ λίνον πάλιν ἐξήμι. καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς μετὰ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τῶν παίδων εἰς Νάξον ἀφικνεῖται. ἔνθα Διώνυσος ἐραστὴς Ἀριάδνης ἦρπασε, καὶ κομίσας εἰς Αἴγνον ἐμίγη.

A less full version is given by D.S. 4. 61.4:

καταπλευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς Κρήτην Ἀριάδνη μὲν ἢ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μίνωος ἠράσθη τοῦ Θησέως εὐπρεπείαι διαφέροντος, Θησεὺς δ' εἰς λόγους ἐλθὼν αὐτῇ καὶ ταύτην συνεργὸν λαβῶν, τὸν τε Μινώταυρον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παρ' αὐτῆς μαθὼν διεκόθη· cf. Plu. *Thes.* 19.1 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην . . . παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐραστὴς τὸ λίνον λαβῶν, καὶ διδάχθεις ὡς ἔστι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ ἀπέπλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἠιθέους.

See further sch. *Il.* 18.590, sch. *Od.* 11.322, sch. *AR* 3.997 and Hyg. *Fab.* 42 *Theseus apud Minotaurum* and 43 *Ariadne*.

As regards the second story in the papyrus, comparable prose stories about Hippolytus and Phaedra are found in: the hypothesis of *Hipp.* II transmitted both in medieval manuscripts and in P. Mil. Vogl. II 44 (this papyrus text is rather fragmentary but seems to be similar to the medieval hypothesis); Apollod. *Epit.* 1.18–19; D.S. 4. 62.2–4; Plu. *Parallela minora* 314A–B; Hyg. *Fab.* 47; sch. *Od.* 11.321; Tzetz. *Lyc.* 1329. See W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford 1964) 1–45, for the history of the legend including a discussion of the lost *Hipp.* I and fr. 428–47 N<sup>2</sup>. See also *LIMC* v, s.v. Hippolytus.

An advance towards reconstruction of col. ii is gained through an overlap with P. Mich. inv. 6222A (ed. pr. G. W. Schwendner, *Literary and Non-Literary Papyri from the University of Michigan Collection* (diss., Univ. of Michigan 1988) 24–9; re-edited by W. Luppe, 'Die Hypothesis zum ersten "Hippolytos"', *ZPE* 102 (1994) 23–39 with Taf. 1A, and subsequently by Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests* no. 7 (pp. 15 descr., 195–6 text), who notes the overlap (pp. 16, 22), and again by Luppe, 'Nochmals zur Hypothesis des ersten "Hippolytos"', *ZPE* 143 (2003) 23–6). Written in a version of the 'Severe Style' dating from the end of the second or beginning of the third century, P. Mich. 6222A (hereafter P. Mich.) appears to contain a text of a story about Hippolytus. In his re-edition Luppe assumes that we are dealing

with a hypothesis to the lost *Hipp.* I. The wording of the present papyrus does not seem to be incompatible with the Euripidean *Hipp.* II, although it shows no overlap with the medieval hypothesis to this play. On the other hand, it has several phrases in sequence in common with P. Mich., and this text has several details that seem to be incompatible with *Hipp.* II: (i) Θετταλι[α fr. A7, (ii) Ἰπ]πολύτου στολήν fr. B3 and κα]λυψάμενον fr. B5. (i) It has been plausibly conjectured (Barrett, op. cit. 32, Luppe) that in the first play Theseus was absent in Thessaly, helping Pirithous. (ii) In view of the title of the first play — (Κατα)Καλυπτόμενος (cf. Pollux 9, 50; sch. Theoc. 2, 10) — it seems most natural to interpret στολήν and ]λυψάμενον as clothing and (un)veiling oneself (see on line 14 in further notes on P. Mich. 6222A below). Even if we could explain ]λυψάμενον otherwise (e.g. ἀποκα]λυψάμενον — cf. LSJ s.v. ἀποκαλύπτω 'reveal one's whole mind') — στολήν remains problematic.

Thus P. Mich. does seem to be concerned with the content of *Hipp.* I; and the same can be assumed for the corresponding section of 4640, which overlaps it. From the overlap of the two texts it is possible to determine the line lengths of each, but only within rough limits (see on col. ii). The arrangement of the principal P. Mich. fragments A–C and thus the reconstruction of the play provided by Luppe do not agree with our new text, which shows that Luppe's fr. C should precede fr. B. See below on col. ii for a reconstruction combining 4640 with P. Mich.

The text and notes have benefited from a draft of the edition by R. Kannicht for *TGF* 5 (forthcoming) and comments supplied by Professor Diggle. Citation of other dramatic hypotheses on papyri in the notes is by the name of the play and the relevant papyrus, with line numeration according to the ed. pr. For hypotheses transmitted in medieval manuscripts, reference is to the text and line numeration of the edition of J. Diggle, *Euripides* I–III (Oxford 1981–94) unless otherwise mentioned. The restorations of the line beginnings in col. i are merely plausible ones, suggested *exempli gratia*, and commensurate with wording of the story elsewhere.

Col. i

	(m.2) λη
(m.1)	]γυπομεινασεπειδ[[η]]είστηνκρητην
	] . ρεγενεθηπαιδωνεισαχθεισειστον
	]ωωταυροναπεκτεινεν καιραδι>
	]νδαιδαλουβοθηθσαντοσαυτωι>
5	] . σαθηναιοςκαιτηστουβασιλεως
	]θησειναγωνιωκησπροσευσεβη
	]υχθειδιακονεινουκαπωκνησεν
	]ωλειαναισθομενοστουμεινωται
	]ωτουςπεριθησεατονκινδυνον
10	]ωστησαριαδνησεπιθυμιασπη

]ονμενπατεραπρωτονε ειντον  
 ]ξιωσαι τονδεθησεαπαρεστησατο  
 ]ντοσαποπλεινεαυτηναλαβον  
 ]αθηνας ευπλοησεν α[.]ιαδνην>  
 ]εγημεμεινωδεθυμ. . . . . με  
 ]κελευσαγαμωτηνοργνημεσο  
 ]τηννεωτερανθυγατεραπ[. . .].  
 ]  
 ]τοζ ε[ ]~[

20

].

Col. ii

τωνκατεςφαξ[  
 χαραξασαπαρ. . .  
 ιπολυτουδ.[  
 μεταβιαστο.[  
 5 παρθενων. . .  
 πλειονοςγει.[  
 πιστευσασα[  
 καιμε[[τα]]τουπ[  
 τονασεβησα[  
 10 λειπομεν[  
 πονεκελ[  
 οβον απ[  
 ιδαποτυχ[  
 λευεντου[  
 15 θ[.]σαιλημ[  
 λεγchonων[  
 εζητειπ.[  
 . . . προς .[

col. i 2 ],, end of oblique, probably α 5 ],, right curve of ο or ω 11 ],, right part of lower curve as of ο, ω ε, traces of left and right parts of a horizontal at top with top of right upright descending and foot of upright at left as of π, not c 13 ],, dot in mid-line and at bottom, apparently ε 15 θυμ is followed by upper left curve of round letter; gap; high horizontal stroke and curve (either π or right part of γ, c, τ plus the left side of round letter); horizontal at top and a smaller one at bottom; gap; low dot, some traces in

the middle and end of horizontal in upper part of line 17 ],, slightly curved horizontal stroke, low in the line 20 ],, dot

col. ii 2 ],, upright, followed by curved letter (ε, θ, ο, c), perhaps with cross stroke (ε, θ) 3 ],, vertical 4 ],, several dots, perhaps η? 5 ],, two round letters (the first ο or θ; the second ε, θ, ο, or c) and a high dot 6 ],, traces at top of line, probably η 12 ],, ο, trace at lower right as of α, λ, x 13 ],, three small strokes (slightly more likely of π than of τ) have been displaced 17 ε, or θ π, small oblique below line, α? 18 high horizontal and high small oblique, πα? (before these strokes in margin a thick horizontal that does not seem to be part of the text) ],, high horizontal

Col. i

(m.2) λη

(m.1)

]ν υπομείνας· ἐπεὶ δ' [[η]] εἰς τὴν Κρήτην  
 ] . ρεγενεθη παίδων εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς τὸν  
 λαβύρινθον --- τὸν Με]νώταυρον ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ῥαδί-  
 ως --- τὴν ἕξοδον εἶδρε]ν Δαιδάλου βοηθήσαντος αὐτῶι  
 5 ] . c Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 θυγατρὸς Ἀριάδνης --- ] Θησεὶ συναγωνιώσης πρὸς εὐσεβῆ  
 ] υχθεὶς διακονεῖν οὐκ ἀπώκνησεν·  
 ὁ δὲ Μείνω --- τὴν ἀπ]ώλειαν αἰσθόμενος τοῦ Μεινωταύ-  
 ρου ] ω τοὺς περὶ Θησεῖα τὸν κίνδυνον  
 10 ] ως τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐπιθυμίας ὑπη-  
 τ] ὄν μὲν πατέρα πρῶτον ε . εἰν τὸν  
 α] ξιώσαι, τὸν δὲ Θησεῖα παρεστήσατο  
 ] ντος ἀποπλεῖν ἑαυτὴν ἀναλαβόν-  
 ] Ἀθηνας εὐπλόησεν, Ἀ[ρ]ιάδνην  
 15 ] ἔγημε· Μείνω δεθυμ. . . . . με  
 ] κεύσασα γάμω τὴν ὄργην μεσο-  
 ] τὴν νεωτέραν θυγατέρα π[. . .].  
 ]  
 ] τοζ ε[ ]~[  
 20 ] .

Col. ii

των κατέσφαξ[  
 χαραξασα παρ. . .  
 Ἴππολύτου δ.[  
 μετὰ βίας το . [



aorist *ἔπειεν* suggests success. *ἔπειεν* occurs not infrequently in the hypotheses: **2457** *Aeolus* 27 *ἔπειε τὸν πατέρα . . . κυνοικίαι*; **3650** *Alex.* 10–11; hyp. *Ba.* 12; **2544** *Ph.* 8; **3652** *Phrixus I* ii, 31. However, this is far from certain; it is not inconceivable (on the same reasoning) that something like *ἔσειεν* was intended: 'she began to blackmail her father into granting . . .?' (for the sense see LSJ s.v. *σειώ* 4).

The other accounts of this myth do not contain any request from Ariadne to her father. Again, Minos seems to have been more important in the version followed in the papyrus than in the existing accounts. *ἔπειεν τὸν* and *ἀ]ξιόσαι* do not immediately suggest a context for themselves. (*κατ]αξιόσω* also occurs in **3650** *Alex.* 9 and 24, P. Mich. fr. C 8; hyp. *Alc.* 9. *τὸν* at the end of 11 is likely to precede a noun denoting a man, an event or a thing: e.g. *ἄνδρα, ξένον, φόνον, ἔρωτα*. In the remainder of the gap in 12 we may suppose a noun in the genitive.

12 *α]ξ. κατα]ξ-* quite likely? On whose behalf does Ariadne try to persuade her father to take a decision: her own? Theseus? or Daedalus? Diggle suggests [*βοηθὸν μὴ ζημίας ἀ]ξιόσαι*. With *βοηθὸν* compare 4 *βοηθήσαντος* (referring to a different case).

13 ] *ντος*. Ending of a participle? A possible supplement is e.g. *Μείνω(ος) | τοῦ πατρὸς (ἐξ]όργισθ[ --- | οὐ πεισθ]έντος*, or perhaps *Δαίδαλου* with a participle.

14 ff. The action of the story seems to have ended (as it began) in Crete. If we are dealing with the hypothesis to a play, the voyage of Theseus and the situation of Ariadne must have been reported in the play. 15–17 must deal with the sequel.

14 *Ἀθηναι* could be either the goddess (on the spelling *Ἀθηνᾶς*, cf. PSI XII 1286 *Rh.* i, 6 and XXVII **2455** *Tr.* 163) or the city. The latter seems most natural in view of *εὐπλόησεν*. A possible supplement is *ἀναλαβόν[τα --- | Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν εἰς] Ἀθήνας*.

14–15 *Ἀ[ρ]ιάδην | [ - - ] ἔγημε*. Theseus sails away: (i) He is also the subject of *ἔγημε* and marries Ariadne (not very likely in view of 15–17 and the traditional myth). According to the usual ending of the story, Theseus and Ariadne arrive at Dia/Naxos, where Ariadne is either left behind by Theseus and taken as wife by Dionysus (Hyg. *Fab.* 43; sch. *Od.* 11.322) or she is taken away from Theseus by Dionysus, after which Theseus leaves in distress (Apollod. *Eph.* 1.9; D.S. 4.61.5). Plu. *Thes.* 20 offers some other obscure and rationalistic versions. (ii) If this version follows the traditional story and Theseus is subject of *ἔγημε*, we could supplement e.g.: [*δ' ἐν Νάξω(ι) λυπὸν οὐκ] ἔγημε*: (suggested by Diggle). It seems unlikely that someone other than Theseus could be subject of *ἔγημε*: the reference would have to be exceptionally brief and would leave much unexplained.

15 *Μείνω*: Genitive, dative, or accusative.

16 *κελεύσασα*: Preceded by a female subject, perhaps Athena. Plays often end with the appearance of a god, who explains past events, indicates or commands future actions, etc. And these are often reflected in hypotheses of plays: e.g. hyp. *Andr.* 16 ff.; hyp. *Hipp.* 21 ff.; hyp. *Or.* 18 ff.; PSI XII 1286 *Rhad.* ii 30 ff. Although appearances of a god are usually described in the hypotheses as *ἐπιφανείς*, this is not always the case: see e.g. hyp. *Hipp.* 21 ff. *Ἄρτεμις δὲ τῶν γεγενημένων ἕκαστα διασαφήσασα Θησεὶ . . .* For Athena in the present situation, see sch. *Od.* 11.322, where she orders Theseus to leave Ariadne behind and go to Athens (cf. above, introd., on Eur. fr. 388 N<sup>2</sup>). In this connection one might also think of Minos' wife Pasiphae, but in her case *κελεύσασα* might seem strangely authoritative.

*γάμω*: Either the previous union between Theseus and Ariadne or a future marriage between Theseus and Minos' younger daughter (see on 17).

*τὴν ὀργήν*: Someone is angry. Theseus when he has been robbed of his bride? Or Minos for a variety of reasons may be angry with Theseus. In most versions, Minos does not seem to agree with Ariadne's engagement to Theseus, whereas AR 3.1000–1 has *ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν καὶ νηός, ἐπεὶ χόλον εὔνασε Μίνως, σὺν τῷ ἐφεζομένη πάτρην λίπε*. Cf. R. L. Hunter's note on 997–1004: 'Jason's words in 1000 and 1100 hint at a version in which Minos formally gave Ariadne to Theseus . . . it is probable that A. had (?Cretan) sources for such a version', comparing *FGH Hist* 328 F 17a with Jacoby's comments p. 1106–7n.; H. Herter, *RhM* 91 (1942) 228–37. For *ὀργήν* in conjunction with a technical observation on the psychology of dramatic characters in hypotheses, cf. XXVII **2455** *Ph.* 303–4 [*τὴν ὀργή]ν λοιπογρα[φή]σας* (cf. hyp. *Ph.* 20 and crit. app.).

*μεσο-*. Perhaps a form of *μεσολαβέω*, i.e. to interrupt or cut short Theseus' (or the god's?) anger (part of an infinitive after *κελεύσασα* or part of another participle?). Cf. D.S. 16. 1. 2 *αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμιτελεῖς πράξεις οὐκ ἔχουσαι*

*συνεχῆς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὸ πέρασ μεσολαβοῦσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν φιλαναγνωστούντων*. Is it possible that Athena orders Minos to give Theseus his younger daughter in order to appease his anger?

17 *τὴν νεωτέραν θυγατέρα* is presumably Phaedra. In Apollod. *Eph.* 1.17 and D.S. 4. 62. 1 Theseus receives Phaedra after Minos' death as wife from her brother Deucalion; cf. also Hyg. *Fab.* 43.3 *Ariadnes autem sororem Phaedram Theseus duxit in coniugium*. Though it may be accidental, Phaedra is one of the main characters in the next column.

19 ] *τος ε[*: A heading, set off by line-space and a decorative border. We do not know how many more lines there were in the column; but given the leisurely style, it seems likely that this begins the story of Hippolytus which continues in the next column.

] *τος*. Either *Ἰππόλυ]τος* or *πρῶ]τος* could be restored, presumably part of the heading for the story that follows rather than end-title of the preceding one. There are decorative hooks over *c* and *ε*, not unknown in the headings of dramatic hypotheses. Collections of dramatic and oratorical hypotheses of the same author (unlike the plays and speeches themselves) are frequently accompanied not by end-titles but by headings in the following form: (i) name of play in nominative, followed without punctuation by (ii) *οδ/ῆ/ὄν ἀρχή*. This is followed by (iii) first line of play in the following line (e.g. LII **3651** 23; **3652** ii 16). Sometimes *ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις* appears as a secondary heading in the next line, before the hypothesis begins (e.g. LII **3650** i 1–4 and **3653** fr. 1.8; LX **4017** ii 5). LII **3653** fr. 1.7 adds *ἡδε* after *ἀρχή*, unusually. Thus we seem to have here part of the name of the story or play that follows in the papyrus. However, the break in the papyrus after this line makes it impossible to tell whether the papyrus conformed to the headings of the other collections of hypotheses on papyrus, i.e. continuing with a heading *οδ ἀρχή*, followed by the first line of the play before the beginning of the hypothesis.

*ε[*: *ἐ[γκαλυπτόμενος* would fill the space; but the title of Euripides' play is elsewhere reported as the simple *καλυπτόμενος*: Poll. 9.50, sch. Theoc. 2.10c KA (*κατα-* EG). Other possible restorations include *ἐ[τερος* or *Ε[ὐριπίδου* (both are on the short side, if we assume that the heading was precisely centred). For the latter there is a partial parallel in MPER III 32 (= Van Rossum-Steenbeck, *Greek Readers' Digests* no. 3), in which the heading *τὸ δράμα Εὐ[ρ]ιπ[ίδου]* appears to precede the title *Αἰτόλυκος* in a hypothesis. However, it would be strange to have the name of author given in the middle of a collection of hypotheses (or stories based on those) unless the collection comprised hypotheses of tragedies written by more than one author. On the other hand, *ἐ[τερος* is even less likely, since the usual indication of a second play with the same name is *δεύτερος* (cf. XXVII **2455** 267 = fr. 17 col. xix *Φρίξος δεύ[τερ]ος*, i.e. *Phrixus II*) and *ἔτερος* would presuppose that another *Hippolytus* had already been mentioned. Yet the story which follows in col. ii seems to be not that of the extant *Hipp. II* and contains no overlap with its hypothesis transmitted in the medieval MSS; it may well be that of the lost *Hipp. I* (see introd.). One solution is that ] *τος* is part not of *Ἰππόλυ]τος* but of *πρῶ]τος*. Thus we could restore the heading as [*Ἰππόλυτος πρῶ]τος*, followed by *ἐ[κείνη δ' ἡ ἢ ἐ[κείνου ἡδ' ἀρχή* (or, less likely, *ὑπόθεσις*). (Cf. LII **3652** ii 16 *Φρίξος πρῶτος, οὐδ' ἀρχή* where the restoration of *πρῶτος* is supported by the line-length.) In this form the heading (ca. 30 letters) would be precisely centred or inset in the line (as frequently in the other examples of headings of hypotheses on papyrus), as reconstructed to the length (55–70 letters) suggested by the overlap with P. Mich.

## Col. ii

At a number of points the papyrus overlaps with P. Mich. (overlaps indicated below in bold type):

fr. A

]νεπες.[  
]υσα δὲ λο[  
ἐ]ζήτησε[  
]ντυχεῖν' οὐκ η[

5 ]εμφανη[  
 ]θειν ἀπο[  
 ] Θετταλι[  
 ] λιον εν[  
 ]κετων κ[  
 10 ]λαμοις[  
 ]ενχαρ[

fr. C

5 ]ν καὶ τας[  
 ] παρθενων[  
 ]ον καὶ βορη[  
 ] Τροιζήν[α γ]ενομ[ε-  
 ] ὁ Θεσεὺς πιεστ[  
 ], [ . . ] κατὰ τοῦ παιδ[ὸς  
 ]ωνι· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολ[ὺ  
 κα]ταξιώσας αὐτὸ[.] μ[  
 τὸ]ν ἀσεβήσαντα τω[  
 10 ]τῶν δ' Ἰππολύτου δούλων εν[  
 ]ππο[. . . . .]ορ[ε[  
 ] . τος . [  
 ]λευ . . [  
 ]ριτ[  
 15 ] . τ . [

fr. B

5 ]α[  
 ] . ιζων [ . . ] . [ . . ] [  
 Ἰπ]πολύτου ετολήν [  
 ]λιαν ἐκέλευσε[  
 κα]λυψάμενον το . [ .  
 ]τῆιας καθίσει λη[  
 ]ς ἀληθῆ τῶν π[  
 ἔλ]εγχον γενομε[ν-  
 ] ἡ μὲν Φαίδρα [  
 10 ]ν ἔξή-  
 τει θερ]άπων  
 ]νεατου[

15 ]εσθαι  
 μ]ετανο-  
 ], να . α[

fr. Ba

5 ]δε . [

fr. Bb

5 ] . [ .  
 ] . ος κ[  
 ]υεπλ[  
 ]νη[

fr. D

5 ] . α . [ .  
 ] . εν . [ .  
 ]αιτου[

The regular overlapping and non-overlapping lines show the line-lengths of **4640** to have been much longer than those of P. Mich. Hence in about every other line in P. Mich. there is a series of letters preserved that are duplicated in **4640**. The lines of P. Mich. are reconstructed at a length of *c.*32 letters by Luppe (though, of course, they may have been shorter). On this reconstruction (assuming an identical text), the lines of **4640** will have been 55–70 letters in length. The series of overlapping letters shows that we are dealing with the same text of a story about Hippolytus. However, caution must be exercised, since the text cannot be assumed to be everywhere identical: in at least one place the two diverge: **4640** ii 16 has ἔ]λεγχον ων[, while P. Mich. fr. B 8 reads ἔλ]εγχον γενομε[. Thus we may have to deal with two differently transmitted versions of the same story about Hippolytus with similar phrasing in some parts and different phrasing elsewhere.

A composite text showing the approximate correspondence of the papyrus with P. Mich. appears below. This is given without lectional signs and only such restorations as may be regarded as beyond reasonable doubt. The lineation has been adapted to that of the present papyrus, with spacing based roughly on Luppe's reconstruction of P. Mich. at *c.*32 letters per line. **4640** supplies the line-beginnings (printed in plain text), while P. Mich. (underlined> provides the right hand portion of the column. Letters that occur in both texts





15–16 εἰ|λεγχοῦν ων|. ἔλεγχος occurs in *Hipp.* 1310, 1337 in the sense of ‘cross-examination’, ‘test’, or ‘proof’. In P. Mich. ἔλεγχον is followed by γενόμε|. If we have ὦν here, this could be a case of a variant reading, more or less synonymous, implying γενόμε|νος in the Michigan text. Alternatively ὦν could be read, implying γενόμε|νων. But the two texts may have diverged here even more than we can now tell.

18 Perhaps πατρός (presumably of Theseus, if correct).

Further Notes on P. Mich. 6222A

These concern problems where lacunae in **4640** make it impossible to tell whether the two papyri had identical phrasing. Except for fr. A, references to P. Mich. (underlined> are by the lineation of that of **4640** ii (in plain text) given in the composite text above.

1 Who is killed (κατεσφαξί)? In the extant *Hipp.* II, Phaedra kills herself immediately after writing her accusation, whereas it has been assumed for the first play that she did not commit suicide until the innocence of Hippolytus was revealed. Phaedra is probably still alive at 16 (]η μὲν Φαίδρα[ unless these words are part of a report. Is it perhaps a servant of Hippolytus (οἰ]ξετῶν?) who is killed by Phaedra or by someone else (sing. or plur.) at her command (i) because he tries to frustrate her plans, or (ii) as an alleged accomplice of Hippolytus’ rape?

4–5 Perhaps καὶ τὰς [θύρας --- τοῦ] παρθενῶνος? Cf. Apollod. *Epil.* 1.18 κατασχίσασα τὰς τοῦ θαλάμου θύρας καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας σπαράξασα.

6 Theseus arrives in Troezen and believes Phaedra’s accusation. The scene of the play was probably Troezen (as Luppe notes) and not Athens, as was previously assumed.

9–10 Diggle suggests τῶν δ’ Ἱππολύτου δούλων ἐν[α] | λειπόμεν[ον] and points at *Hipp.* 6 ἕνα τῶν συγγενῶν and XXVII **2455** *Acol.* 24, *Her.* 3 and 5–6, *Herad.* 12–13 and *Mel. Soph.* 32 (ed. H. Rabe, *RhM* n.s. 63 (1908) 145). In all these examples, the numeral precedes the genitive.

14 Cf. introduction. If ]λυφάμενον is to be connected with the title Καλυπτόμενος (= *Hipp.* I), then the usual interpretation of this title, according to which Hippolytus would veil his head against the pollution of Phaedra’s proposition, is to be excluded. Alternatively we could suppose that Hippolytus’ corpse would be covered (cf. E. M. Craik, *Mnemotysne* 40 (1987) 137–9), but in this case Καλυπτόμενος must be passive, which seems less convincing.

15 ἀληθῆ. One might suppose that Theseus is about to discover the truth, which was first hidden and then revealed by Phaedra, or revealed by someone else against Phaedra’s desire. Cf. Luppe, who proposes παρὰ Φαίδρα]ε ἀληθῆ τῶν π[ερὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος αὐτῆς εἰ]λεγχοῦν (followed by end of sentence).

16 ]η μὲν Φαίδρα|. Nominative or dative?

17 ἐξήτει. The subject is unknown. Diggle suggests that Phaedra sought (ἐξήτει) to hide the truth, while a servant (θερ]άπων) declared that Theseus was the murderer of his son (18 φο]νέα τοῦ | ]παιδός --- γε]γέσθαι), whereupon Theseus repented of his rashness (18–19 μ]ετανο[ήσας). But the addition of the Oxyrhynchus text to that of Michigan suggests that νεατου must come very close to . . . τρος. If πατρός is to be read, we have φο]νέα τοῦ | πατρός.

M. VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK

#### 4641. MENANDER, EPITREPONTES

100/184 (a)

9 × 14.2 cm

Second/third century  
Plate III

Fragment of a bookroll, papyrus broken away on at least three sides. Parts of 22 iambic trimeters survive. It is not clear whether the last line was the bottom of the column. The column-width was approximately 11.5 cm (based on the certain supplement in 13). The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

The text is written in a ‘Biblical uncial’ script very similar to that of II **224** (= P. Lond. Lit. 76) and P. Ryl. III 547 and LXII **4302**. G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (1967) 28–9 with pll. 6 and 7a, assigns **224** and P. Ryl. 547 (perhaps from a single roll) to the end of the second century; we would think the third century equally probable. In **4641** note the heavy contrast between the thick uprights and the thin, almost invisible horizontals.

Sense breaks are marked by high (10, 11) and middle stops, inserted at a later stage. Elision is generally unmarked, sometimes marked by apostrophe in combination with a middle stop (7 [twice], 12, all additions and perhaps by a second hand); no certain instance of *scriptio plena* is to be found. Diaeresis once marks a word beginning with ι (15). Iota adscript is written twice (3, 11), omitted once but there added as a correction (9). ‘Itacism’ is corrected once (3). The writer, apparently concentrating on his calligraphy, produces a text which is frequently corrected by deletion of letters and/or supralinear additions (3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, possibly 11, 16, 17, 22), which may or may not be by the same hand. Part-division is indicated once by dicolon together with a *nota personae* (19), which was added above the line in a different and very small hand. Paragraphoi are expected, but cannot be seen because of the missing line-beginnings.

The attribution to Menander’s *Epitrepontes* is based on an overlap with the indirectly transmitted fr. 6 of this play in 13–15. The character name Syriskos (19) and the content of the dialogue in 16 ff. place the fragment beyond reasonable doubt in the early scenes of Act II, just a few lines before the beginning of the Cairo Codex (*Ep.* 218 ff.). The new fragment shows not only that the title-scene of the play starts approximately 10 lines earlier, but also helps to explain better the arbitration itself (see 20–21 n.). In addition, the fragment contains further evidence that the name of the charcoal-burner is indeed Syriskos (see 19 n.).

. . .  
] . ουτ . νθυγατερ[  
]δηλεγομενονη[  
] . επ’είσηκαρτερης[  
] . ντομηπαράτουτο . [  
5 ]νπεπο[[ι]ηκεμυριου[  
]ον[[δ]]γέτοκακονειδεης[  
] . λεγοντ’ . αωτοσεμ’ . ου[  
]ζ’τα . μεθυωκραπαλω . [  
] . [ . . ] . δουνατωίφρασων[  
10 ]ειρανπροσαγέ . ν . ωωννα[  
]θειελεγειτουτωιγαρε[  
]ρηαζετ’ . ερρωσθαιγαρεστ . [  
] . γοσδυγ . . ωωντουπυρ[

15 ] . ταθλιωτερος·διπλασια . [ ]  
 ]ατην·ιδεινβουλησομαυ[ ]  
 ]ρο·ς·μεινατωδειληςμετα[ ]  
 ] . ωσοκαιτ'ο·ακατασεπρος . [ ]  
 ]αρεναγαρε· θεκαστονης . [ ]  
 ]υθηνλεγειςδικαιον·ουμα[ ]  
 20 ]επρροστονδεσποτη . [ ]  
 ]ονκατοικειδενθα[ ]  
 ] . [ . ] μεν·ο·ικε . . ου[ ]  
 foot?

1 ] . [ , minimal trace of the foot of an upright on a projecting fibre: τ? τ, ν, right-hand side of an arc: ω or ο, spacing in favour of the former 3 ] . [ , left-hand side of an arc: c or θ 4 ] . [ , right-hand side of an arc: ο or ω . [ , upright, most likely ι with a serif as in 19 καιον 7 ] . [ , upright as of Ν, ι, Η 9 ] . [ , only a speck on the line ] . δ, traces may belong to two letters 10–11 ink between ε in the upper and θ in the lower line, probably a supralinear correction (cf. comm.) 12 εστ . [ , foot of an upright: ι? 13 ] . [ , right-hand side of small loop: ρ 14 ] . [ , trace compatible with c ] . [ , minimal trace of an upright: τ? 17 ] . [ , descender as of ρ or γ 'α, omicron written small above alpha; within the triangle of λ traces of ink, perhaps remains of deletion-stroke ] . [ , foot of an upright: Η, ι, κ, λ, Ν, π 18 ε, θ, upper part of an arc: c, ε ] . [ , left-hand side of an arc: ο, ω, ε, c or θ 19 ου, across γ, a longish horizontal at mid-height: misplaced ink or a deletion (ο being too damaged to decide whether it contained a similar deletion)? raised κ in the *nota personae* extended to the right as a sign of abbreviation; below κ, an unexplained angled trace (see comm.) 20 ] . [ , trace of an upright: Ν 22 ] . [ , minimal upper trace on a projecting fibre . ου[ ] upright: λ or Ν?

(CM.?) . . . . . ουτ . ν θυγατέρ[α  
 . . . τὸ] δὴ λεγόμενον η[  
 . . . . . ] ε πείσει καρτερη[  
 . . . . . ] ν τὸ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ τοι[ούτου  
 5 . . . . . ] ν πεπόηκε μυρίου[  
 . . . ] ον γε τὸ κακόν, εἰ δεή[  
 . . . . . ] λέγοντ' "ἄσωτός εἰμ', ου[  
 . . . . . ] στα, μεθύω, κραιπαλῶ, [ ]  
 . . . ] . [ . . . ] δουν αὐτῶι φράσω ν[  
 10 π]είραν προσάγειν, ὡς νῦν α[  
 . ] θεις λέγει τούτωι γάρ· ε[  
 ε]ργάζετ'· ἐρρώσθαι γάρ ἐστ . [ ]  
 ἀργὸς δ' ὑγιαίνων τοῦ πυρ[έττοντος πολὺ  
 ε]στ' ἀθλιώτερος· διπλάσιά γ' ἔσθ' ἰε

= Men. Ep. fr. 6

15 μ,άτην· ιδεῖν βουλήσομ' αὐ[τὸν  
 (ΔΑ.) π]ροσμείνατ', ὡ δειλῆς μετα[  
 (CY.) ἔρ]ρωσο καὶ τὸ κατὰ σέ πρόσμ[εῖνον μόνον.  
 π]αρ' ἕνα γάρ ἐσθ' ἕκαστον ἢ σω[τηρία.  
 (ΔΑ.) ο]υθ' ἐν λέγεις δίκαιον. CYPICK(OC) οὐ μα[  
 20 . . . . . ] ε πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην [ ]  
 . . . . . ] ον. κατοικεῖ δ' ἐνθα[δ  
 . . . . . ] . [ . ] μεν οἴκε . . ου[ ]

SMIKRINES(?) . . . daughter . . . as the saying goes . . . persuade . . . hold out . . . not to . . . from such a . . . (5) he has made countless . . . the problem, if necessary . . . (Charisios) saying 'I am a profligate man . . . I am drunk, I am partying (or: I have a hangover)' . . . Should I tell him to make an attempt, as now . . . since [no one] says to this . . . is working . . . for being healthy . . . A healthy idler is far worse off than one in bed with a fever: he eats twice as much — in vain! — I want to see [him]. . .

DAOS (to Syriskos and his wife, all entering the stage) Wait! — what an afternoon! . . .

SYRISKOS Goodbye, and as far as you are concerned: [just you wait]. For everyone is himself responsible for his [salvation].

DAOS What you're saying is not just.

SYRISKOS Not . . . to my master . . . He lives here . . .

Act II of the *Epitrepontes* is in general believed to have opened with a monologue by Onesimos (six line-beginnings preserved: Ep. 173–8), followed by a dialogue scene, in which Onesimos lied to Smikrines (cf. Gomme-Sandbach p. 302), e.g. by telling him that he would find Charisios in the *agora* (cf. 15 n.).

1–15 (soliloquy) The speaker cannot be identified with certainty. Neither of the two possible candidates, Onesimos and Smikrines, is conclusively recommended or ruled out by the content of the lines. However, external evidence is in favour of Smikrines: towards the end of Act I, he left the stage with the announcement (Ep. 161–3): εἴεμι δ' οὖν εἶω, σαφῶς τε πυθόμενος | ἅπαντα τ[αὐ]τα τῆς θυγατρὸς, βουλευόμεμαι | ὄντινα τ[ὸ] ρόπον πρὸς τοῦτον (sc. Χαρίσιον) ἤδη προσβαλῶ. According to Menander's normal dramatic technique (for references see E. Handley in *Relive Ménandre* (Geneva 1990) 132 n. 17; 140 n. 29), one expects Smikrines to explain the result of this plan in a monologue in an early scene of Act II. If however Onesimos is the speaker of 1–15, Smikrines would enter the stage in Ep. 222 without ever coming back to his plans to attack Charisios. It seems therefore preferable to make Smikrines the speaker. The following commentary is based on this hypothesis.

1 θυγατέρ[α (rather than -ρ[α, -ρ[ων, θυγατερ): Pamphile, Smikrines' daughter. Before that probably ] τούτων.

2 τὸ] δὴ λεγόμενον: 'as the saying goes', LSJ s.v. λέγω III 10; cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles* 235 (with examples). E.g. τὸ] δὴ λεγόμενον ἢ[ττων (Austin); cf. Ep. 666–7 (= fr. com. adesp. 78.2–3 K.–A.; see ZPE 128 (1999) 54–6): τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον | ἢττων ἑαυτοῦ (Smikrines about Charisios). Or τὸ] δὴ λεγόμενον ἢ[διστος/-ν βίος/-ν; cf. Ep. 680: μισεῖ τὸν ἠδὲν λεγόμενον τοῦτον βίον; (Smikrines about Charisios). Handley suggests ἐγὼ τὸ] δὴ λεγόμενον ἢ[δὺς ἦν. τί οὖν; comparing Pl. *Gorg.* 491<sup>a</sup>2, *Euthyd.* 300<sup>a</sup>6, *R.* 337<sup>a</sup>6, and *Sam.* 412 (Smikrines referring to the conversation he had with Pamphile during the act-break).

3 E.g. μηδὲν] εἰ πείσει, καρτέρη[ον, Cμικρήνη (for καρτέρησον cf. *Sam.* 356, also 327; for this kind of self-address: J. Blundell, *Menander and the Monologue* (Göttingen 1980) 65 ff.); Smikrines envisages a conversation (the subject of πείσει probably being Charisios), in which he is to stand his ground.

4 Probably a neuter adjective (c.g. ἀγαθ[ὸν] τὸ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ τοι[ούτου] + infinitive (c.g. λαβεῖν in 5): 'it is [good] not to [take] . . . from such a man'. For substantival ὁ τοιοῦτος, cf. K.-G. i 631, here probably referring to Charisios.

5 πεπότηκε μυρίου[ε: cf. *Ep.* 683 Martina (Smikrines about Charisios) π]ολλὰς πεπο[τή]κεν [. . .] [. . .] οὐκ | οὐ]τος ὁ γος[ὸν] λεκ[ε].

6 εἰ δεῖ[ε: cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.4, also *Sam.* 289 (though interrogative, not conditional); R. Kassel compares indignant εἰ δεῖ in Ar. *Ra.* 1007, *Ecd.* 1098.

6-7 Most likely a neuter adjective with κακόν at the beginning of 6 and an infinitive at the end, e.g. (sarcastic) καλ[όν] γε τὸ κακόν, εἰ δεῖ[ε μ' ὑπομένειν (Handley) | αὐτὸ]ν λέγοντ' "ἄσωτός εἰμ' κτλ.": Smikrines envisages what Charisios might answer in reply if he were to confront him. It is noteworthy that Smikrines does not envisage a belligerent Charisios. The passage is mirrored in *Ep.* 927 ff., where Charisios envisages a confrontation with Smikrines. Sarcasm is common with Smikrines: see *Ep.* 655 ff., 680, 693 and below.

7 λέγοντ(α) as introduction of quoted speech: fr. 25.6 K.-A. (= 23.6 K.-T.) and Philippides fr. 27 K.-A., and in general R. Nünlist, 'Speech within Speech in Menander', in A. Willi (ed.), *The Language of Comedy* (Oxford 2002) 219-59.

ἄσωτος: cf. *Ep.* 584 (Smikrines about Charisios), *Her.* 60, fr. 544.2 K.-A. (= 800.2 K.-T.).

7-8 E.g. οὐ [γὰρ τὰδε | γελα]στά; (Austin; a comment by Smikrines interrupting the quoted speech, witness the stops in the papyrus). υ[ ] represents the high tip of an oblique descending from left to right; ψ[ ] might also be thought of (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 3.9.63 . . . ὀψοφαγίαν, ἄσωτιαν . . .).

8 μεθύω, κραπαλώ: cf. Lucian *Bis accus.* 16 δε . . . ψαλτρίας ἔχων καὶ καταιδόμενος ἔωθεν εἰς ἐσπέραν, μεθύων ἀεὶ καὶ κραπαλῶν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῖς στεφάνοις διηρημένον. On the meaning of κραπαλώ see Arnott on Alexis fr. 287.1 K.-A. For the asyndeton cf. *Dysk.* 59-60, 547-9. The quoted speech probably ends in 8. At the end of the line e.g. [στεφάνου φερῶ (Austin, comparing the passage in Lucian) or [πύρνης ἐρῶ.

9 At line beginning I had thought of a participle, e.g. παρ]ό[ν]τι δ' οὐδν, 'Should I tell him to his face . . .?'; cf. *Sam.* 626. But although ]τ[ ] by itself could fit the traces, the reading does not account for a trace at mid-height to the right of the presumed 1, unless that is accidental (compare the unexplained dots in 14 δ'ιτ and 20 δ'εε).

αὐτῶι φράσω *Sam.* 155.

At the end Austin suggests ν[ ]έαν τινά.

10 π]είραν προσάγειν: the phrase seems to have sexual overtones (cf. Ach. Tat. 1.10.5, Liban. *or.* 42.29, also Lucian *dial. deor.* 3.2): 'Should I tell him . . . to make yet another pass?'(?) At the end e.g. ὡς νῦν ἄ[ ]κολαστοτέρως ἔχει (Austin); cf. Xen. *mem.* 2.1.1.

11 Probably ο]ὔθεῖς (ὠ]θεῖς and ὀ]θεῖς being unlikely). E.g. ο]ὔθεῖς λέγει τούτωι γάρ, "ε]ὐγενής (vel sim.: εὐβουλός Austin, εὐτυχής Gronewald) τις ὦν (Handley) | ε]ργάζε(αι)". The assumption of quoted speech is based on the stops after γαρ and εργαζετ; cf. 7. γάρ comes late in the sentence (4th place), as often in Menander and other late authors (Dover, *Greek and the Greeks* (London 1987) 61-3; Handley on *Dysk.* 66-8).

12 ἐρρώσθαι: 'being healthy' (cf. ὑγιαίνων, 13), often in medical writers. E.g. ἐρρώσθαι γάρ ἐστι [μὲν καλόν, giving an antecedent to ἀργός δ' ὑγιαίνων κτλ.

13-15 = Men. *Ep.* fr. 6 (Stobaios 3.30.7; cf. also Theophyl. Simoc. *epist.* 61, *Epigr. Bob.* 49 and Joh. Chrysostomos, *In illud: Salutate Priscillam et Aquilam* 51.195.20). Smikrines as speaker of this gnome had already been suggested by Wilamowitz and others. The gnome seems to convey a sarcastic tone again (ἀθλιώτερος).

14-15 διπλάσια γ' ἔσθλει | μ,άτην: the papyrus has the same word order as the MSS of Stobaios, which provide an unmetrical διπλάσια γοῦν ἔσθλει | μάτην, emended by Wilamowitz, *NJA* 11 (1908) 53 n. 1, (and most subsequent editors) to μάτην γοῦν ἔσθλει | διπλάσια. With the end of the line missing, one cannot exclude with certainty that the papyrus did not contain the same corruption, which then would be proven to be very old. In the light of the new fragment, it seems however preferable to retain the transmitted word order (with an effective runover word μάτην), and to emend Stobaios' text as printed (so already C. Robert, *Der neue Menander* (Berlin 1908) 88). The corruption in Stobaios has been explained by Buecheler (Stobaios, cd. Hense, vol. 3, p. lxxix) as an incorporation of a variant διπλοῦν/διπλάσια, ΟΥΝ being written over ΔΙΠΛΑ and erroneously interpreted as correction (for this kind of error cf. e.g. *Dysk.* 26, 958).

15 For the future cf. Austin on *Asp.* 93, and more in general S. Radt in *CXOIA (Festschrift Holwerda)* (Groningen 1985) 109-12 (R. Kassel).

ἰδεῖν: 'see' ≈ 'meet' as often in Menander (Handley on *Dysk.* 305). Smikrines' announcement that he wishes to talk to Charisios can fulfil different dramatic purposes (with different restorations): (i) the announcement of an immediate exit to the agora: κατ' ἀγοράν/ἐν ἀγορῶι (Gronewald), assuming that Onesimos lied to Smikrines in the preceding (lost) scene (see above) in order to protect his master (cf. Onesimos' fear in *Ep.* 577 ff.). The announcement of an exit into Chairestratos' house is less likely: in *Ep.* 371 Smikrines exits to the city, and the preceding arbitration scene does not contain a clue that he has changed his plans; (ii) the announcement of a later conversation with Charisios: ὑστερον (P. Brown, Austin, who compares in general *Asp.* 93 f. εἶτ' ἐντυχεῖν βουλήκομαί τι Δάε σοι | κατὰ χολήν), or κατὰ μόνας (Handley, comparing *Dysk.* 782). In any case, Smikrines (probably on the right-hand side of the stage) is interrupted by the entrance of the slaves (from the left) in 16, until he is asked to act as their arbitrator in *Ep.* 222. Handley suggests he may have said something like μικρὸν ὑπαποστήκομαι (*Sam.* 368) in the (probably short) gap before *Ep.* 218 ff.

16 Enter from the left (= country-side) Syriskos, Syriskos' wife (mute) with child, pursued by Daos (for the reasons of his pursuit see 20-21n.). That the character who enters second speaks first has a parallel in Ter. *Ad.* 155 ff. (P. Brown). The present passage should settle the question how to reconstruct the passage in *Ad.* (see Lowe, *CQ* 48 (1998) 477 n. 38, against Rosivach, *CQ* 23 (1973) 85-7).

π]ροσμένιατ(ε): cf. *Mis.* 462, also *Ep.* 365, 858.

ὦ δειλῆς (so rather than ὦ δειλής): cf. *Sam.* 429 ὦ μακρὰς δειλῆς (Moschion complaining that things are not proceeding fast enough, whereas here Daos seems to express his distress in general). E.g. ὦ δειλῆς μετα[ ]τρόπου, μέναιτε (Handley, comparing *Ep.* 878 and Arnott on Alexis, *Asotodidaskalos* 4), or μετα[ ]πιπτοῦς κακῶς (Austin). If it is already (early) afternoon, the cook is indeed slow (cf. *Ep.* 382-4). For the time-scale of *Ep.* see Arnott, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 19-31 (with add. *ZPE* 72 (1988) 26) against Sandbach, *LCM* 11 (1986) 156-8.

17 ἔρ]ρωσο: cf. *Georg.* 84, *Dysk.* 213, LIX 3969 11 (= fr. com. adesp. 1142 K.-A.): spoken by or to a character who is leaving the stage; here a provocative dismissal of Daos, who does not co-operate. Syriskos dismisses him with a thinly veiled threat ('Goodbye, and just you wait for what's coming to you'; cf. 20-21 n.).

τὸ κατὰ σέ: adverbial (always sg; the supralinear variant in the papyrus is to be preferred); cf. Hdt. 1.124.2 τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοῦς τε καὶ ἐμέ, 7.158.2 τὸ τε κατ' ὑμέας, and Schwyzler-Debrunner ii 477.

18 Cf. X. *Hipp.* 1.5 πολλοῖς ἦδη ἢ σωτηρία παρὰ τούτω ἐγένετο, Isocr. 6.52 ὠμολογεῖτο παρὰ τούτων (sc. τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον) γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς, Lycurg. 63-4 οὐδὲν ἂν παρ' ἑνα ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο τούτων . . . παρὰ τούτων εἶναι τῆι πόλει τὴν σωτηρίαν. On this type of παρὰ (εἶναι/γίνεσθαι), see K.-G. i 513-14 and H. Wankel, *Demosthenes: Rede für Ktesiphon über den Krianz* (Heidelberg 1976) 1039 (R. Kassel).

19 ο]ὔθῃν λέγει δίκαιον: R. Kassel compares οὐδὲν ὑγιές . . . λέγει (Ar. *Thesm.* 636; cf. E. *Cycl.* 259) and | οὐδὲν φροεῖ δίκαιον (fr. com. adesp. 520 K.-A., probably a parody of tragic verse); δίκαιον is a real catch-word in this play, especially for Syriskos (218, 233, 249, 348, 352). At the end c.g. οὐ μ' ἄ[ ]ποστρέφεις. The raised final kappa of ζυρις<sup>c</sup> apparently ends in a flat tail prolonged well to the right. Below the main part of kappa, and to the upper right of the epsilon below, is ink shaped like <sup>l</sup>, which I cannot explain either as a sign (too far to the right for a rough breathing) or as a correcting letter (although some horizontal ink touching the epsilon just below its junction might be taken as a deletion-stroke).

The *nota personae* is further evidence against the Mytilene mosaic, which gives the name as Syros and attributes it to the wrong character (cf. Gomme-Sandbach on *Ep.* 270; for the mosaic *ZPE* 126 (1999) 75-6). Syrisk(os) in the identification seems to indicate that this is how the name appeared in the cast-list. It may originally be a *Kosename* (so Arnott, *CQ* 18 (1968) 227 ff.), but Syriskos is a regular name in Athens and elsewhere (cf. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* 1-II, s.v.).

20-21 Syriskos' words most likely contain a threat to bring the case before his master Chairestratos. Since a slave cannot himself take legal action (D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978) 81), Chairestratos is imagined to do this on Syriskos' behalf. Syriskos will have made clear his intentions after his failure to get the trinkets from Daos (cf. *Ep.* 275 ff.). This threat of legal action is the reason why Daos actually pursues Syriskos (and does not rather stay at home since he still is in possession of the trinkets). His exclamation *κυκοφαντεῖς*

δυστυχής (*Eph.* 218) is therefore to be understood in a specifically legal sense (on sycophants see e.g. MacDowell, *op. cit.* 62). It follows that the arbitration for which the two slaves eventually settle (*Eph.* 219 ff.) appears to be a form of compromise and not Syriskos' original intention. (Cf. A. Scafuro, *The Forensic Stage* (Cambridge 1997) 179, on *Pl. Curc.* 686–729 and arbitration in general: 'The arbitration, moreover, arises out of a typically Athenian sequence amply attested in the orators, the threat of a suit precedes the offer of arbitration.')

Two basic restorations of the lines are conceivable: (i) Syriskos threatens Daos directly, e.g. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην [τραπήσομαι | τὸν ἐμ]όν. κατοικεῖ δ' ἐνθάδ[δι Χαίρεστρατος (Austin). (ii) Syriskos threatens Daos indirectly by addressing his wife, e.g. ἐνεγκ[ε πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην [τὸ παιδίον; cf. *Eph.* 376–8 (Syriskos speaking) εὐ δὲ ταυτί (sc. τὰ γνωρίσματα), γύναϊ, | λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὸν τρόφιμον ἐνθάδ' εἰσφερε | Χαίρεστρατον. For δεσπότης/τρόφιμος referring to the same character cf. *Dysk.* 300 and 378; for ἐνεγκε at the beginning of the line cf. *Sam.* 660.

21 κατοικεῖ δ' ἐνθάδ[δ' or the like: cf. *Perik.* 122–3 τὴν οἰκίαν . . . κατοικούση.

22 ]μεν: possibly 1st person pl., e.g. ἀλλ' εἰς[ω]μεν (*Mis.* 451; cf. 264).

The assumption of quoted speech in lines 7–8 and 11–12 coincides with one of the interpretations of LX 4021 fr. 3, for which the first editor tentatively suggested a placing between *Eph.* 178 and 218 (adopted in Martina's edition). Although the two fragments do not overlap, it is possible to place both fragments in the gap (LX 4021 fr. 3 coming first, whose speaker would then be Onesimos). It has to be remembered that there is no external evidence for the commonly assumed length of the gap (40 lines), which is based on the assumption that Menandrian acts normally do not exceed 250 lines. However, it is also conceivable that LX 4021 fr. 3 comes before *Eph.* 127 (the speaker being Chairestratos, not, as suggested in the ed. pr., Smikrines). A discussion of LX 4021 fr. 3 (with an improved text) is to follow shortly in *ZPE*.

A placing before *Eph.* 218 has also tentatively been suggested for the six unplaced fragments of XXXVIII 2829 (fr. V–X). Attempts to connect any of them with the new fragment have so far failed.

R. NÜNLIST

#### 4642. ?MENANDER, KITHARISTES?

12 1B.137/H(b)

10.8 × 12 cm

Late first/early second century  
Plate IV

The papyrus preserves the upper margin to a height of 3 cm, but is broken away on the other sides. Three lines are virtually complete. The width of the column was c.9 cm. Minimal traces of a previous column survive; the intercolumnium measures c.2.3 cm. The back is blank and the writing runs along the fibres.

The text is written in a rounded upright capital of medium size, rather informal and generally bilinear (ϕ projects, α and λ may). ε θ ο c tend to be broad (and the cross-bar of ε is often not joined to the curve); the horizontal of τ is often broken, the right-hand element written separately from the left and lower down. The writing may be compared with P. Lond. Lit. 6 (*Iliad*) = Seider II 21, Taf. XI, datable to the earlier first century AD (a Domitianic document on the verso), but that is cruder and probably earlier; and with the two hands of V 841 (Pindar, *Paeans*; Roberts, *GLH* pl. 14), datable probably to the mid second century (the document on the recto dates after 81). In general appearance it is similar to LXII 4306 (mythological compendium), which the editor assigns to the first/second century AD.

Part-division is indicated by paragraphoi and spaces. Two speakers are identified with *notae personarum* (5), one in the left margin, the other above the line. The names are written very small in a slightly more cursive style, but may be by the same hand. Elision is indicated twice by apostrophe (3, 13, but not in 7, 8). One accent is found in 3. No indication for *scriptio plena*, (missing) iota adscript or iotacism.

The character-name Phantias is known from Menander's *Kitharistes* and fr. adesp. 1141 K.–A. (tentatively attributed to *Kith.*). A Phania is also mentioned (but is not a *dramatis persona*) in three plays by Terence (*Andr.*, *HT*, *Hec.*; see W. G. Arnott, *Menander* (Loeb) II 143, with further references to non-dramatic texts). Parmenon as a slave's name is very common. Those parts of the fragment which are sufficiently intelligible do not rule out an attribution to *Kitharistes* and could be fitted into a hypothetical reconstruction of that play (see at the end of the commentary).

col. i

col. ii

top

]αφ.ρ. ζτιεστνωτοουκεγω. [

]αιπραγματοκοπειφνιασοδιδα. [

]αν. γ'άντικωαληθωελεπ[

. [.] . . τοςημινουτονο . . . θ. σιου[

παρ<sup>π</sup>

5

]αν<sup>1</sup> εορακας ειδον ωπολυτιμητο[

καιφ[.] λτατεζεεωτερωσπολληχ[

τιουνηγαιουσιμμεν οσαγουτω. [

τηναιταντιελεγονειναι[

/ τοπλ. ιουεικρητηνκατε. [

10

εκριθ. [ . . . ] . . μ . . γκαιδιενεχ[

]ξενοστιζαυ[ c.8 ]ε. [

]χθησανπροδοσιασχενομ[

] . σμ'επεπλευσεγαρτις. . [

] . ουτοπαλιω. [

15

] . ηκουσενα. [

] ησαν[

col. ii

1 traces compatible with γλ]αφυρος (Handley) . . . [ λ likelier than μ (Handley) 2 . . . [ a trace at mid-height compatible with c 4 . . . [ small arc at line-level, lower left corner of round letter or the like . . . the upper half of a circle; then the foot of an upright and an upper right-hand corner: ]ογ? ο . . . θ. c, after ο the foot of an upright, then a cross-bar, possibly of τ, connecting relatively low with a projecting ι as for

example in 3  $\tau\iota\epsilon$ ; the trace after  $\theta$  suggests  $\eta$ , except for the horizontal trace next to the following  $\epsilon$ , which could however be a ligature as elsewhere in this hand (e.g. 8  $\tau\eta\eta$ ). Therefore possibly  $\omicron\tau\iota\theta\eta\epsilon$  7 [possibly  $\epsilon$  with a flat top (cf. 13) 9 a diagonal stroke in the left margin, ascending from left to right  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$  [, the foot and a trace at mid-height of an upright, then a minimal trace at the edge of the papyrus: either  $\iota$  [, or  $\eta$  [, but not  $\tau\iota$  [ 10 ] . . .  $\mu$  . . .  $\nu$  , the first trace is the right-hand end of  $\Delta$ ,  $\lambda$  or  $\mu$ ; then the lower part of an arc:  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron$ ; the right-hand end of  $\mu$  connects with the foot of an upright; then the lower part of an arc:  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron$ . Therefore possibly  $\rho\omicron$ ]  $\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\rho\gamma$  11 ]  $\epsilon$  [, upright:  $\iota$ ,  $\Gamma$  or  $\mathbf{N}$  13 ] . , an upright:  $\iota$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\iota\epsilon$ , left-hand arc with no trace of cross-bar:  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\omega$  . [, a trace at the bottom line and a projecting high oblique, perhaps to be combined as  $\lambda$ ,  $\Lambda$  or  $\Delta$ , possibly  $\mu$  14 ] . , an upright, most likely  $\mathbf{N}$  15 ] . , trace of a curve slightly above the bottom line, touching the  $\eta$ :  $\mu$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\kappa$  or  $\Delta$  At the end possibly  $\Lambda\Upsilon$  [

col. ii

 $\gamma\lambda$ ]  $\alpha\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  τίς ἐστιν οὗτος. οὐκ ἐγὼ ἴλ[εγον; $\nu$ ] αἰ'  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  Φανίας ὁ διδάξ[καλος.

ἄπ]αντά γ' ἄν τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐλπ[ίς[αι

. [ . . . ]  $\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ο . . .  $\theta$  .  $\zeta$  ἴσον.5 ΦΑΝΙΑ(С)  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ ; ΠΑΡΜ(ΕΝΩΝ)  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ . (ΦΑ.)  $\acute{\omega}$  πολυτίμητο[ι θεοίκαὶ φ[ί]λτατε Ζεὺ  $\text{C}\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho$ , ὡς πολλή χ[άρις.

τί οὖν; ὑγιαίνουσιν μὲν; (ΠΑ.) ὅσα γ' οὕτως [ἰδεῖν.

(ΦΑ.) τὴν αἰτίαν τίν' ἔλεγον εἶναι [

(ΠΑ.) τὸ πλοῖον εἰς Κρήτην κατε . [

10 ἐκριθῆ[ . . . ] . . .  $\mu$  . . .  $\nu$  καὶ διενεγ[× - ∪ - ] ξένος τις αὐ[  $\epsilon$ .8 ]  $\epsilon$  . [

× - ∪ - ] χθῆσαν προδοσίας γενομ[ένης

× - ∪ ] .  $\zeta\mu$ ' ἐπέπλευσε γάρ τις . . [

] . οὗτος πάλιν . [

15 ] . ἦκουσεν α . [

] ησαν[

. . . An astute person is this man. Didn't I say it before? Yes; the teacher Phantias is meddling. Truly, one could expect anything at all . . . him equal to us.

PHANIAS (*entering the stage*) Have you seen (them)?

PARMENON I have!

(PH.) O much-honoured gods and you my best friend, Zeus Saviour! How great is my gratitude! Well then: are they safe?

(PA.) As far as I can see now.

(PH.) What did they say the reason was for . . . ?

(PA.) The ship . . . to Crete . . . it was decided (?) . . . a stranger . . . them (?) . . . they [sailed away] (?), after a betrayal had taken place . . . for there was a (. . .) on the (same?) ship . . . this man again . . . heard . . .

1-4 The lines ought to come from a monologue (three-actor rule). The speaker cannot be identified. He appears to be opposed to Phantias. The lines do not contain one of the typical formulas to announce an impending entry (cf. K. B. Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (Oxford 1988) 5f.). The speaker seems to be unaware of Phantias and Parmenon approaching the stage, but he unknowingly prepares for their entry (cf. Frost, *op. cit.* 11f.). Whether he leaves the stage in 4 (resulting in an empty stage) or remains on stage as an eavesdropper cannot be decided.

1  $\gamma\lambda$ ]  $\alpha\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ : cf. fr. 531 K.-A. (not in K.-T.), where the word is glossed with  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ; in the light of 2 it is likely to be contemptuous ('glib') or ironic.

ἐγὼ ἴλ[εγον Handley (cf. Men. *Dysk.* 172, 511, *Mis.* 217, always at the end of the line).

2  $\nu$ ] αἰ' Handley.

$\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ : cf. Polybios 29.23.10; 38.13.8 (also Philodem. *Rh.* 2.53 Sudhaus, and for the noun *ibid.* 1.226); the word has negative connotations ('to interfere, meddle in a business').

Φανίας: For the attestations of this name in (Greek) Comedy see introduction above.

3 Possibly a (rhetorical) question (cf. *Dysk.* 203). The referent of  $\tau\iota\epsilon$  is then Phantias and the implication is that he should be content with what he already has. As an alternative, Handley suggests taking 3 as an apodosis with 4 (see next note).

4 Probably: subject + ἡμῖν αὐτὸν (sc. Phantias) οὐ τίθῃς ἴσον, e.g. ὁ [πλ]οῦτος ('his wealth does not make him equal to us'), which suits the initial trace but is difficult to reconcile with the spacing, [πλ] being rather long. Or (Handley): . [ . . . ]  $\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ἡμῖν αὐτὸν οἷ τίθῃς ἴσον, 'Everything can be expected, it really can) where  $x$  places himself as our equal' (in that case consider  $\tau\iota$ [οι]οῦτος J. R. Rea).

5 Enter Phantias and his (?) slave Parmenon in mid-conversation (for this type of entry Frost, *op. cit.* 10f.). On the new entry, each speaker is once identified by a *nota personae* in the papyrus, written small and abbreviated in suspension ( $\phi$ ]  $\alpha\nu\iota$ ), the final suprascript alpha in the cursive form  $\iota$ ,  $\rho\alpha\rho$  with  $\mu$  written above  $\rho$ ). The apparent absence of (identifying) vocatives indicates that it is not their first appearance on stage.

ἔροακας: cf. Men. *Sam.* 61 (also opening a scene in mid-conversation); the most likely object is the persons about whose condition Phantias interrogates Parmenon in 7. For this juxtaposition of perf. and aor. of  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\omega$  referring to the same event, cf. *Dysk.* 409-11.

ὦ πολυτίμητο[ι θεοί: cf. Men. *Asp.* 408, *Dysk.* 202, 381, 479, *Mis.* 165, *Fab. inc.* 56, fr. 106.2 K.-A. (97.2 K.-T.), 508.5 K.-A. (718.5 K.-T.), also Ar. *V.* 1001 (only here not at the end of the line); the oath is confined to male speakers (Handley and Gomme-Sandbach on *Dysk.* 202).

6 Ζεὺ  $\text{C}\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho$ : cf. Men. *Dysk.* 690, *Ep.* 907, fr. 420.7 K.-A. (656.7 K.-T.), fr. 804.2 K.-A. (581.2 K.-T.), also *Ep.* 359, *Perik.* 759, *Sam.* 310, fr. adesp. 1017.107, 1089.10, 1155.6 K.-A. For the accumulation of invocations, cf. e.g. *Dysk.* 191-2. Since the salvation seems to be related to a sea voyage (ll. 9ff.), probably a specific reference to the god of the sailor (Men. fr. 420.7 K.-A.; Posidipp. *ep.* 11.10 G-P; Diph. fr. 42.24-5 K.-A.).

χ[άρις Obbink; 'How great is the gratitude (I owe you)! (cf. τοῖς θεοῖς πολλή χάρις Xen. *Oecon.* 8.16, Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 9.1) rather than 'How great a favour (you've done me)'.  
7 τί οὖν; frequent in Menander and elsewhere, 'leading to the main point' (Handley on *Dysk.* 823).

ὑγιαίνουσιν μὲν; cf. Ar. *Av.* 1214 ὑγιαίνεις μὲν; on the force of μὲν Denniston, *Greek Particles* 367, quotes Verrall 'μὲν in an interrogative sentence as elsewhere marks the proposition as preliminary and points to the sequel' and Hadley 'it (sc. μὲν) generally implies that unless the answer is "yes", the discussion cannot go on'.  
For ὅσον/ὅσα γε + inf. cf. K.-G. ii 511 n. 3 ('meistens in einschränkendem Sinne'), Goodwin § 778, quoting e.g. Ar. *Pax* 856 (ὅσα γ' ὠδ' ἰδεῖν).

8 For the deferred interrogative cf. Men. *Asp.* 369, *Dysk.* 114 etc., and in general Thomson, *CQ* 33 (1939)

147–52, esp. 147: ‘the effect of postponing the interrogative is to reduce its force, and this is accompanied in most cases by a corresponding increase of the word which has supplanted it’.

At the end e.g. [τοῦ χρόνου] (‘delay’, LSJ s.v. IV; cf. *Kith.* 45) or [τοῦ πάθους] (Handley).

9–16 Despite the missing line-beginnings, the speaker of these lines is almost certainly to be identified with Parmenon, who gives a report about the αἰτία (8) in a monologue (possibly interrupted by short questions). The oblique stroke in the left-hand margin of 9 remains unexplained. To its left there is a space, and then faint traces which might represent π, i.e. π[λ]/ for Π[α](ρμένων). But the note would be in a larger hand than in 5, and differently abbreviated; most likely the apparent π is no more than dirt caught in the damaged surface.

9 Perhaps τὸ πλοῖον εἰς Κρήτην κατεῖ[χετ], ‘the ship went to Crete and was detained there’ (Handley, with reference to his note on *Dysk.* 174 ff.).

10 Perhaps ἐκρίθη [πο]λέμιον, ‘(the ship) was judged to be the enemy’s’.

11 πς: We have doubtfully transcribed c, assuming that the ink which closes the right-hand side is an accident. But it must be admitted that, apart from a little blotting, the ink and the ductus both suggest a normally-formed o. In that case, we must reckon with τί αὐ[τός] (written in *scriptio plena*).

12 e.g. ἀνή]χθησαν.

προδοσία: the noun is not attested in Menander (for the verb cf. *Perik.* 468), but in Eupolis fr. 192.192 K.–A.

13 ] . cm’: almost certainly a noun ending in -ημα or -εμα.

Plot reconstruction:

(i) An unidentified character ‘A’ expresses criticism about the glib and interfering teacher Phantias. (ii) ‘A’ thinks that Phantias should be content with what he already has(?). For he will never be the same as those to whom ‘A’ belongs — despite his wealth(?). (iii) Phantias is very anxious about a group of persons. (iv) He is more than happy, when he hears that (v) Parmenon has seen them. (vi) As far as Parmenon knows, they are safe and sound. (vii) The reason for Phantias’ anxiety was a delay, presumably of a ship’s arrival. — The subsequent points are more conjectural: (viii) The ship went to Crete and was detained there(?). There it was considered to be the enemy’s(?). (ix) This forced the passengers to take refuge(?) with a *xenos*. (x) After a betrayal(?) by the *xenos*(?) they had to flee(?). (xi) A passenger on the same ship helped them(?) and made them return safely(?) to the place where the action takes place(?).

Possible connections with the *Kitharistes*: (iii) and (vii) would go nicely together with *Kith.* 44 ff., where the lyre-player Phantias expresses his anxiety about his wife and his daughter who had left Ephesos before him, but have not yet arrived in Athens (or are staying in a place unknown to him). Parmenon’s qualified answer (vi) could obliquely refer to the fact that Phantias’ daughter is pregnant, whether Parmenon already knows this or not (dramatic irony). (Moschion, the son of Phantias’ neighbour, had raped her on the occasion of a festival for Artemis in Ephesos: *Kith.* 92 ff.) The detention in Crete (ix) could account for the late arrival of Phantias’ relatives. As for (xi), it is noteworthy that Phantias’ family has possibly returned to Athens on the same ship as Moschion (so Webster, *Introduction to Menander* (Manchester 1974) 157; differently Arnott, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 27, on the basis of the very lacunose ll. 1–27; but even if Arnott is right about κατέλυσε (*Kith.* 10), it is not at all clear at what point Moschion ‘deserted’ Phantias’ daughter and whether he has ‘returned’ to her, i.e. wants to marry her (again)). Later in the play, Moschion (or a slave who accompanied him) may then have emphasized his role in ‘rescuing’ the women, in order to make Phantias more favourable to the idea of marrying his daughter to Moschion.

Possible objections to the attribution: (a) The plot connections are not very strong and partly dependent on hypothetical reconstructions. (b) The name Phantias is known from other sources. (c) Nothing in the extant fragments of *Kitharistes* points to Phantias as being a *teacher* (but see next paragraph).

If the attribution to *Kitharistes* is correct, the critical character ‘A’ may be identical with the speaker in *Kith.* fr. 5 and especially fr. 6 where he seems to question Phantias’ skills as a lyre-player (therefore διδάσκαλος sarcastically?).

R. NÜNLIST

4643. MENANDER, *HYMNIS*?

A 6153/4(C4)

4.6 × 15.8 cm

First/second century  
Plate III

A strip of papyrus with a 2 cm upper margin and remains of 23 lines. The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank. The round, calligraphic hand, bilinear except for φ (φ does not occur), looks forward to the ‘Roman Uncial’ manner, but with a certain awkwardness in the formation of letters and in the deployment of serifs; among letter-shapes, note the capital α, z as two horizontal elements connected by an upright stem, γ with its upper part splayed and flattened, φ whose heart-shaped roundel fills the line. It looks later than XXIV 2387 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 15), Alcman, which is assigned to the late first century BC/early first century AD, and earlier than classic examples of ‘Roman Uncial’ like the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 13). We would place it in the later first century AD or possibly the earlier second century. The only punctuation surviving is dicolon. The scribe wrote iota adscript in the two places that require it (9?, 19).

Another, much smaller, hand has written abbreviated character-names after and above the dicola in 2, 3 and 9. Two of these tiny notes (2 and 9) begin certainly or probably with υ, which points provisionally to Menander’s *Hymnis*, as no other comic name at present known starts with upsilon. Ten book fragments (*PCG* VI ii pp. 227–30) reveal less about the plot of this play than Caecilius’ adaptation (Ribbeck, *CRF* (1898<sup>3</sup>) pp. 52–4). ‘Hymnis’ is a girl from Miletus, and there was a heated debate between aged father (cf. γέρον, 19) and degenerate son (the πόςθων of fr. 371): Caec. fr. 6 *garruli sine dentes iacent, sine nitentur perticis*, fr. 7 *sine suam senectutem ducat usque ad senium sorbilo*.

4643 was first transcribed by E. G. Turner in 1977. In 1998 C. F. L. Austin prepared a new version, and presented it for discussion (at the Cambridge Oxyrhynchus Seminar on 19 May 1998, to the xxii Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia in Florence on 24 August 1998 (*Atti* 1 (2001) 77–83, with plates), and in Urbino on 14 April 1999 (*QUCC* 63 (1999) 37–48, with plates); this provisional version appears as Men. fr. 361<sup>a</sup> in *PCG* I p. 395). Subsequently R. A. Coles re-examined the original, and the final text printed here includes some modifications.

top

] . τὸνηττονε[

υ . .

] α : παρμενων[

] μς

] . εις : ουδελ[

] τροφιμετω[

] λακαιταβρ . [

5

] . ταις . . . . ιελ[

] [   
 ] [   
 ] . . . ςιε . ταν . [   
 ] τωπραγμα[   
   v[   
 ] νδε . ηι : π[   
 10 ] . . . . αμεν[   
 ] τηνθυγατερ[   
 ] . . . δηγερωβ[   
 ] . . . ςις . εχουσαλι[   
 ] . . . επε . εφυσ[   
 15 ] . δεπ[ . ] ησομ[   
   ] . [ ] χειρα[   
 ] . [ . ] . [ . . . . ] νησομ[   
 ] . οιομαιτροπον . [   
   ] . ειντωιγερο[   
 20 ] εριεργαζ[   
   ] . . . κατεμ . [   
   ] αλε[   
   ] υςιν[

1 ] . , lower left and upper right elements of circle, e.g. ο, ω τo, of ο only upper left quadrant (space too narrow for ω) ε[ , or perhaps θ 2 ] α, only the sloping back υ[ , only the top of the diagonal 3 ] . , traces of upright ς, represented by one point of ink near line-level below damage λ[ , only the foot of an oblique rising to the right 5 ] λ, or λ (only the sloping back) . [ , part of lower left of circle 6 ] . , end of top curve as of ε, c . . . , first, triangular top (λ, λ?), second triangular top, perhaps trace of cross-bar (λ) After 6, space for two lines, stripped and badly damaged, but enough surface survives to the right to suggest that there was no continuous text. Presumably χορογ stood here, centred; a possible oblique trace may represent the left-hand prong of γ 7 ] . . , first, two small upright traces near to line-level ςιε, of c the top arc and lower part of the back, damage between (so that e.g. ε could also be considered) ε . τ, at line-level a small lower left-hand arc (or foot of upright hooked to the right?) 8 πρα, of p remains of an upright extending below the line; of λ the oblique back 9 ε . ηι, of ε scattered ink, dubious; then oblique traces suitable to λ or perhaps κ or η; of ι only a point at line-level (but no space for anything wider) 10 ] . . . , scattered ink; last perhaps oblique feet as of λ or sim. υ[ , an upright and at the top remains of junction with an oblique descending from left to right 11 ] τη, remains of three uprights, compatible e.g. with τη or perhaps ρη 12 ] . . . , tops of two uprights?; then back and upper curves as of ο, or of c plus another letter; third perhaps foot of oblique descending to join upright (right-hand side of η? less likely ι with another letter preceding?) 13 ις doubtful εφυσ[ , of c a left-hand arc, no cross-bar visible (ο possible?) 15 ] η, only the foot of an upright with gap to left, ι also possible? 16 ] χ, only the lower end of a down-sloping oblique α[ , only the left-hand side and part of the cross-bar, η also possible? 17 ] . [ , two low traces

18 ] . , mid-part of oblique sloping down from left to right, mid-part of upright τ[ , only a point on the edge, ?left-hand end of cross-bar just below the tops of letters 19 ] . , perhaps foot of oblique descending from left to right (e.g. κ?) 21 ατ, of λ the top of an oblique sloping down to the right, possibly junction with another sloping down from right to left; of τ a long high horizontal, thicker towards the left (τ could be considered, π less likely) εμ . [ , trace on the line 22 ] α, oblique back, λ also possible? ε[ , elements of lower curve and cross-bar 23 ] υςιν[ RAC

1-6 Hymnis, Parmenon and his young master (τρόφιμε 4) are talking about a party with drink (ι?) and food (5).

1 π]ότρον (or κρ]ότρον) ἦτρον ε[.

2 The *nota personae* reads υ . here, υ[ in 9; in 3 we have [ ] . , perhaps [υ]μ[ ([υ]μ[) might suit the traces better, but seems long for the space).

Parmenon is a slave in *Samia*, *Theophroroumene*, *Plokion*, *Hypobolimaios* and elsewhere (add now 4642).

4 τρόφιμε. See the note on Mcn. fr. \*140 (*PCG* vi ii p. 113).

5 e.g. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βρώ[ματα.

6-7 Below 6, space for two lines. The surface is largely stripped, but a patch of surface fibres survives to the right. That shows no sign of ink. If this area was blank, it presumably marked act-end, and χορογ will have been written in the centre; a small oblique trace to the left could belong to the left-hand oblique of γ.

8 οὔ]τω πραγμα[ ×

9 e.g. τή]νδ' ἔληι. (Υμν.) π[αί, Παρμένων.

11 τήν θυγατέρ[α: presumably the daughter of the old man in 19.

12 e.g. δὴ γ' ἐρώ β[ραχεὶ λόγῳι. For δὴ γε, see Denniston, *Greek Particles* 247.

13 e.g. λέγουσ' ἀλ[κκομαι.

18 ]γ or ]δ[ι, e.g. × - ~ νη] 4[ι' οἴομαι. At the end, τρόπον τ[ινά (Turner), as at *Asp.* 539, *Dysk.* 557, *Her.* 20, *Perik.* 158.

19 -]. ειν τῶι γέρο]ντι - ~ -.

20 π]εριεργαζ[ (ζ in the epigraphic form identified by Dr Gonis). For the verb cf. *Epith.* 575.

C. F. L. AUSTIN / P. J. PARSONS

#### 4644. COMEDY (OR SATYR PLAY?)

69/5(a)

4.6 × 10.8 cm

First/second century  
Plate IV

A scrap with remains of 8 lines and a 5.5 cm lower margin, written along the fibres (the back is blank). The hand is large, round and informal; horizontal elements often touch and sometimes ligature with the following letter. Notable letter-forms include the deep ε with cross-bar detached; η and π with the right-hand side heavily curved. Such a script might reasonably be assigned to the second century (compare e.g. V 841, first hand, Pindar *Paeans* = *GLH* 14), but individual features are paralleled in the first century (*GLH* 10-11). Change of speaker is indicated by *dicola* set off by wide spacing (1?, 3 and 8), and perhaps by a simple space (5, but not 2 and 8?)

This scrap contains dialogue in (probably) iambic trimeters, with references to Piraeus and to Attica. Beyond that, interpretation will depend on the supplements. If we supply ἀρχ]ὸς θεῶν in 5, we are dealing with parody (Zeus secretly aboard a little boat in

the Piraeus?), and this points to Old or Middle Comedy, possibly even to Satyr Play. If, on the other hand, it is simply  $\pi\rho\lambda\delta\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  and we have a normal everyday conversation, then Menander and New Comedy are not excluded.

The text here printed shows some differences from the earlier version presented elsewhere (see **4643** introd.), as a result of a thorough re-examination of the original by Dr Coles.

]. . . . π. [  
 ]. ραιεα κατηρα. [  
 ]. ττικης : επι [  
 ]. υτιπλειπλοιαρ. [  
 5 ]. οςθεων ανθρω [  
 ]. ποσειδων. . [  
 ]. . . ων [  
 ]. κοσει περ : [  
 foot

1 ]. . . . , lower parts of letters: second, lower curve, then foot of upright (together ε1 or the like?); last, short descending oblique at line-level (tail of λ, λ? or lower part of dicolon, cf. 3, short space blank before π) . [ , lower part of stroke sloping gently to the right 2 ] . , ink (foot of upright? or of oblique descending from left?) at line-level κ corrected from η . [ , lower part of upright trace inclining slightly to right (not steep enough for e.g. λ) 3 ] . , two dots at line-level, one above and to left of the other, perhaps foot of oblique descending from left 4 . [ , upper part of upright, no ink visible to top right (η?, ι, κ?) 5 θεων, space of one letter, to left of this point of ink at mid-height on damaged surface α, ink above (see comm.) 6 ] . , parts of circle, ο or ω? . [ , first, triangular letter? then high horizontal ink on edge (perhaps λπ, possibly χρ; not ητ) 7 ] . . . , stripped above; second, curving base as of ε, θ, ο, c, ω; then foot of upright (ι?) 8 ζ, only the back and lower curve : [ , the lower element is a heavy dot, not a short oblique as in 3; some damage, but no ink to suggest that the presumed dicolon is the wreckage of a letter

1 ] . . . . We have tried  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ , but κ at least seems hardly possible. The short blank before π may be accidental (cf. 8 n.), but it would support the idea that the last trace, a short oblique on the line, should be taken as the lower part of a dicolon.

2 Π[ε]ιραιεα κατηρα. [ Π[ε]ιραιεα (Turner) is elsewhere contracted to -αια (Men. *Ephr.* 752). For the scansion as a cretic see on Crito fr. 3.4 (*PCG* IV p. 347f). The space following is narrower than in 5, and perhaps represents word-end rather than change of speaker. Then κατηρα. [ , i.e. κατήρα (the trace following does not suggest -αμ[εν, -αν]).

3 ττικης Ἀττικῆς, as at Men. *Dysk.* 1. ἐπὶ [τί; (Ar. *Nub.* 256, Men. *Sam.* 169 and 661) preferable to e.g. ἐπι[χχ (Eur. *El.* 758) or ἐπι[χχ (Cratin. fr. 69, Ar. *Equ.* 847).

4 ο]ῦτι (com. adesp. 1014.18) or -ο]υ τι? e.g. ἀλλ' ο]ῦτι πλεῖ πλοῦάρι[ον. . . .

5 πρ]ός θεῶν (Turner; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 95 πρὸς θεῶν, ἄνθρωπε), preceded by e.g. τί or ὦ, but the space implies change of speaker, and ]ος could be part of the subject of πλεῖ in 4 (ἀλλ' ο]ῦτι πλεῖ πλοῦάρι[ον ἐμβεβῶς λάθραι / ἀρχ]ός θεῶν would suggest a different interpretation of the piece as mythological burlesque).

ανθρω[ , with further ink above the λ. Dr Rea suggests, very plausibly, that the suprascript was ω (only the upper extremities now clearly visible): that is, a variant or correction ὄνθρω[πε.

6 οὔτ]ω, οὔπ]ω or ἴστ]ω. At the end perhaps λπ.

8 ἔνοι]κος or ὦς εἰ]κός? For εἴπερ, cf. Ar. *Nub.* 227 and (possibly) Men. *Mis.* 801. Between ε1 and ππερ blank space enough for one narrow letter, presumably accidental (we could divide e.g. ἄγρο]κος εἰ, so that περ. [ begins another speech; but then the presumed dicolon must be taken as a damaged letter, something that the traces do not encourage).

C. F. L. AUSTIN / P. J. PARSONS

#### 4645. NEW COMEDY

No inv. no.

14.5 × 11.3 cm

Late first/second century  
Platc V

Remains of some 28 iambic lines in the style of New Comedy are given by parts of two columns preserved in poor condition in this fragment of a roll. The writing goes along the fibres; the back is blank. It is possible (not certain, because of the damage) that the lines are from the top of their columns, with a margin of 2 cm or more above; there is nothing to show how many lines each column once contained.

The script is a fluent small-sized hand of documentary character. An open appearance is given by the relatively wide spacing between lines and between columns. Cursive features are seen conspicuously in variant forms of ε, π and c, and in combinations of letters in ligature.

ε responds particularly flexibly to the sequence in which it is written: regularly made from down-curving base and upward-curving back, leading into a flat hook for top and mid-line horizontal, its base is sometimes written continuously with the last stroke of a preceding letter, and its horizontal may lead into a following letter, as in -μεν- ii 7, 10 (note the variant forms in επεχεῖ[ c ii 8); there is also a more cursive form, as seen in ελλαδα i 1 and απερχομ' ii 11, with an open curve at the left, rising to a small loop and horizontal (this form can resemble a cursive κ as in μεικρ fr. 2.2); and there are some variant forms of ligature with ι, as in εχει i 2, ]αρχεις i 3, δει i 4, ]μεικρ. [ fr. 2.2. ο is also variable: the left and right halves that form a small circle when well made (as in καλον ii 5) may devolve, when more rapidly written, into an oval or a narrow backward sloping ellipse (ελεεινος, αυος ii 4). π is sometimes formally written, with upright and flat top leading to a downward upright with a curved foot, as in ποιησαι ii 9 and απερχομ ii 11; it is also formed cursorily with a strong initial downstroke and a high rise-and-fall for the rest of the letter, as seen in κατελιπον i 7 and επεχεῖ[ c ii 8. c is variable, like ε and π, and has analogies with both: it can be made as a descending curve with a curving or flat top added (ειc ii 5, -μενοccου ii 7); or with a short initial link stroke or foot, as sometimes in ε, and then a rising and falling curve (λεγειc i 8, αδελφης ii 7); or it may have an upright initial downstroke, like π, and then a rise-and-fall distinguished from π by its shorter fall, as in λ]εγειc i 5. ω appears twice, linked to letters either side of it (i 8) and with its right loop partly unwritten (ii 10).



Such features of the formation of letters, while not in themselves extraordinary, do add to the difficulty of reading in places where the written surface is damaged. In general, the handwriting gives an impression not of a professional scribe or of a novice, but of a practised writer making a rapid copy. One can wonder if the original owner of the roll was copying a favourite play for himself, or if he commissioned a personal secretary to write it out for him; it seems to lack the appeal expected of a text made for sale.

The dialogue is marked in the usual way by the dicolon, whether at mid-line or line-end; missing, as a result of damage at places where it would be expected, is the paragraphos that is regularly written under the beginning of verses in which or at the end of which the dialogue passes from one speaker to another; unexpected is a paragraphos at ii 5, for which see the notes. There are no accents. Apart from the dicolon, there is punctuation by high dot (i 8; ii 6 (thrice), 10, 12, 14); elision is marked by diastole (ii 5, 10, 11) — all this done at the time of making the copy, as the spacing shows, and not added; in ii 8 a word is left unelided at a change of speaker; in ii 11 elision before punctuation is unmarked. There is no sign of correction or annotation after copying, unless it is to be seen in some unexplained ink in the margin at i 1.

If this unpretentious specimen of a play-text is to be thought of as a private or privately-commissioned copy, we may wish to put it in the same general category as the London *Athenaion Politeia*, written on the back of accounts dated to AD 78–9 and assigned to the late first century; it resembles the Louvre Alcman, *Partheneia*, assigned to the same century, in some of its cursive features, but lacks the extensive lectional aids and annotations that that roll has; comparable in scale, but more upright, rounded and regular, is the comic fragment published as L 3540, again assigned to the first century, and with some (but notably fewer) cursive traits; the marked contrast, in any case, is with more formally calligraphic hands of the first century or the early second, in which period I incline to place the piece. (For L 3540, see Plate v in that volume; the other items referred to are in E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd edition by P. J. Parsons, BICS Suppl. 46, 1987): the *Ath. Pol.*, BL Pap. inv. 131, is no. 60, the *Partheneia*, Louvre E 3220, is no. 16; three formal hands of this period for contrast are nos. 37–9; to compare, dated documents of the Roman period in P. Ryl. II.)

Investigation of the content has not so far yielded a coincidence with any other text, or any other concrete evidence of identity. Since almost all the securely identified remains of copies of New Comedy are of plays by Menander, the chances that a new piece like this one comes from one of them are favourable; but unless more can be made out from it, the text to be discussed here must join the prospective addenda to the very valuable collection of unassigned fragments in vol. viii (1995) of the *Poetae Comici Graeci* by Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin.

For a glimpse of the action of the piece, we depend on column ii. Someone is to be 'put through his paces' or 'given a work out' by the speaker, *γυμναστέος μοι*, line 4. Line 5 begins with a vocative, *Φαίδρ(ε)*. There seem to be three ways to interpret this. (a) Phaidros is a character present on stage (if so, line 4 should be an aside); (b) Phaidros is a character,

but not present (if so, this is a rehearsal for an approach to him that is intended to be made later on); and (c) Phaidros is not a character at all but a hypothetical person invented as part of the discourse. In view of what is to come, the last possibility seems to me the likeliest. Phaidros, who on any account seems to be wealthy, is told in ironical and emotive language how lucky it is that he has on hand a man 'pitiable, ruined, crippled', someone connected with his sister — as it might be, her husband, *ὁ νυ[μφίος]*; but that is conjecture. If (a) or (b) were true, one would expect this powerful lead to be developed. Instead, there is something new. Line 8: someone present is addressed in the second person, and responds. It seems that we have a question 'Are you patriotic?', 'Are you a Good Citizen?'; to which the expected answer (though hard to read) surely amounts to 'Yes'. Then (line 9), the first speaker declares that his response to an action by the Good Citizen (we have to guess what) is to be destructive and fill the place with shouting. After that, we have only fragments of the sense: 'you will be persuaded'(?), 'you understand', 'I go away', 'you take my point'.

The fragment was briefly examined and identified as New Comedy by Sir Eric Turner. I am very grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to incorporate an earlier version of this presentation in a paper in honour of Olivier Reverdin (*Mélanges Reverdin*, ed. J.-P. Cottier, Geneva 2000), as well as to Dr Neil Hopkinson for proof-reading a print-out of that paper and helping me to clarify several points. The present publication has had the further advantage of a fresh and close scrutiny of the fragment by Dr Revel Coles (RAC) and is different in a number of places where I have been led to qualify or give up some of my more optimistic assumptions.

Col. i

	Top (?)		
	]νελλαδα	].[	τῆ]ν Ἑλλάδα
	]νεχει :		]ν ἔχει:
	] . ρχειβιον		]αρχεις βιον
	]ηκαθροαδει		-]ησ ἀθρόα δει
5	] . γει :		λ]έγει:
	] . νεστιαν		] . ν ἔστιαν
	]ανκατελιπον		]αν κατέλιπον
	] . ωλεγει·		] . ωσ λέγει·
	] . εστινειπεμοι		]ς ἔστιν, εἰπέ μοι,
10	] . [ . [ . [ . [ . [ . ]νιαι :		-]νίας :
	]ς		
	]		
	]ς :		

No ink is to be seen above line 1, here or in Col. ii, and if a few millimetres of straight edge can be trusted, there was an upper margin of about 20 mm; but the damaged state of the fragment rules out any certainty 1 ], [ to the right of the column, slightly below line-level, traces in a damaged area that might represent a triangle for Δ, possibly from a variant (of which there is no other sign) or a *nota personae* for a mid-line speaker-change, more probably accidental ('just encrustation, I think' RAC) 3 ], end of down-sloping diagonal 5 ], flat stroke from left joining Γ at top 6 ], slightly rising trace touches Ν at mid-height 8 ], flattish stroke joining ω at top left 9 ], downward curve prolonged towards ε 10 ]. [ ], ink on torn and twisted fibres: first, downward diagonal as for first of λ or λ; next, upper corner of a letter, as if Γ or Π . [ ], triangular letter and trace of another

- 3 ] αρχεις βίον: if part of ἀρχω or -αρχέω is represented, βίον need not go with it, but could run on as in βίον / ἰκανὸν ἔχων at M. Dysk. 306f.
- 6 E.g. τῆν ἐστίαν or Ἐστίαν? Or -] ν ἐστίαν?
- 7 E.g. οὐκ] ἀν.
- 8 E.g. πρ]άως, ἠδ]έως, κα]λῶς, or ] ὠς λέγεις.
- 9 E.g. τῆ]ς, ὅστ]ις, εἶ] τι]ς.
- 10 At the end, among other possibilities, ν[εα]νίας or [Φα]νίας would probably fit.

Col. ii

Top (?)

... κα . . ν . . [ ] . [ ]  
 [ . ] . [ ] . [ . ] . κ ληιτε . . [ ]  
 μ . . α . . τ . νερ . . εστιταλ[ . . . ] . [ ]  
 5 γυμναστεομοικ . . ρος . . [ . . . ] . [ ]  
 φαιδρ' εικαλον . . εστι . . ον . [ ]  
 λ . εινος . αυος . ηρος . ειςεν . [ ]  
 [ . ] . [ . ] μενοσσυτ . . αδελφησα . . [ ]  
 [ . . ] ο . ολισει : . . . . τα : επε . . [ ]  
 10 δ . . κατ[ . ] βαλ . . . . αμεσταποιησαιβοης [ ]  
 κακ' ανπε ωμενεστιπεισθη . [ . ] ι νοει [ ]  
 [ . ] ν . . . . ατη . . . . οντ' απερχομ ανπ [ ]  
 [ c.12 ] . . . . μανθαν . . . . γε : μ [ ]  
 [ c.10 ] . . . . σουτυ [ . . . ] υτηντι [ ]  
 [ c.12 ] στα . [ ]  
 15 [ c.12 ] ξε . [ ] . [ ] . [ ]

fr. 2

] . . [ ]

] μεικρ . [ ]  
 . . τα [ ]  
 ] . [ ]

5 ν . . . , traces of two verticals and a link stroke, a sloping stroke or narrow loop, and a vertical can be taken as π Δ Ρ τ ι . , vertical, e.g. first of Ν ν . [ ], point level with letter-tops, damage below 6 σεγ or σεγ RAC; first read as κυμ- in ligature 7 ] . [ ], slightly displaced downwards, traces of a horizontal and of a letter with a curved base, as for ] Γ Ε [ α . . [ ], Δ given by the tip of two narrowly diverging diagonals or a narrow loop on the line; then the foot of a sloping upright and a low dot of ink: α λ λ (as in ελλαδα ι ι)? or α Ν 8 [ . . ] , trace of the top of a tall vertical, as in the φ of 5 ] ο . , confused ink on torn fibres . . . . . τα, feet of two uprights, the first sloping with a speck of ink to its left, whence probably τ ι ; then traces consistent with μ α λ ι σ τ α , i.e. low curve for first of μ; doubtfully, α λ ι in ligature; then trace of curve for σ . . . [ ], first, ends of rising diagonal; last, end of long descender, e.g. ι of ε ι in ligature, as in 6 9 βαλ reasonably clear from characteristic lower parts of these letters; then traces consistent with ο η τ α 10 κακ, κ looks a tight fit, but the fibres are torn and displaced in a way that also affects the beginning of ο, where α ε ι seems acceptable π ε . , see comm. η . [ ], backward-sloping stroke with a downward stroke from its top, σ suggested 11 ] ν . . , possibly ] Ν Ο ζ 12 μ [ ], foot of sloping upright and base of curve suggest μ not η 13 Slight space after ] . . . , but apparent diastole is probably just a stain

Fr. 2: 2 ] , triangular ink, i.e. Α 3 ] , ink below κρ of 2, perhaps interlinear: . . τα?

- (A) μ . . α . . τ . νερ . . ἐστὶ τᾶλλ[λα  
 γυμναστέος μοι κ . . ρος . . [ ]
- 5 “Φαίδρ’, εἰς καλὸν πάρεστι . . . ὁ νυ[μφίος — (?)  
 ἐλεεινὸς αὐτοῦ πηρός, εἰςεν . [ ]  
 ὁ] γέ[ν]ο[ς] μενός σου τῆς ἀδελφῆς.” ἀλλ[ὰ τί;  
 φ[ι]λ[ό]πολις εἶ; (B) τί; μάλις τ’ (A) ἐπέχει[ς] τι πάντα με (?)  
 δεῖ κατ[α]βαλόντα μετὰ ποιῆσαι βοῆς.
- 10 κάκ’ ἄν πε . ὦμεν, ἔστι πεισθη[ς] . [ ] ι νοεῖ[ς]; (?)  
 -οντ’ ἀπέρχομ’, ἄν π[-  
 -] . . . . μανθάνεις γε. (B) μ[-
- 3 (A) . . . is [(?) the rest] . . .  
 I have to give a work-out to [(?) . . .]
- 5 ‘Phaidros, happily, you have on hand [ . . ] the [(?) husband]  
 — pitiable, ruined, crippled, [ . . . . . ] —  
 as he now is, of your sister.’ [(?) But what of that?]  
 Are you patriotic? (B) What? Very much so. (A) You propose [(?) something; the whole place,]  
 in knocking (it) down, I must fill with shouting.
- 10 If we . . . harm, it is possible . . . persuaded. You follow me?  
 [ . . . ] I go away if [ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] you take my point, don’t you? (B) [ . . . ]

4 *γυμναστέος* is used literally of training athletes by Philostratus, *de gymnastica*, e.g. §29 (p. 156.11 Jüthner) *γυμναστέοι δ' ὄμιως, μάλλον δὲ κολακευτέοι τῶ γυμνάζοντι*. Here it has the metaphorical sense of 'wear out, harass', as can the verb *γυμνάζω* (LSJ s.v. π — so in Menander, *Achaioi*, fr. 8.9 K.-A., of Fortune giving a poor and humble man a hard time); it is to be added to lexica in that sense.

κ. . . ρος . . . [: my original suggestion *κληρονόμος* is excluded by the apparent *ς* after *ρος*, and the search for a subject for the sentence is open; that may have stood at the end of 3. *καὶ πρὸς* (offered as a 'best guess' by RAC) would lead one to think of a construction for the end of the line parallel to *γυμναστέος*.

5 Phaidros is not attested as a character-name in Comedy, but (as Colin Austin remarks to me) it is the title of a play by Alexis and could have belonged to a character there: *PCG* II 159–61; Arnott, *Commentary* 691–4. As taken here it is the name of a hypothetical rich man, and not of one of the *dramatis personae*.

The paragraphos now noted under *Φαίδρο(ς)* is puzzling; there is no other indication of a change of speaker either from double points in the text (though they may have been lost by damage) or from the words surviving. The 'work-out' of *γυμναστέος μοι* must be the reference in 5–7 to someone connected with the victim's sister: to make sense, it needs to include, and not to be interrupted by, the powerful words *ἐλεεινὸς αὖτος πηρὸς κτλ.* in 6. The damaged letters after mid-line in 5 could in theory represent an interjection (say, *πῶς*), but there is no sign that they did. The stop-gap *νῦν* which was my original suggestion is not to be trusted as a reading, and I have left the place blank. Line 8, also apparently beginning with *φ*, does need a paragraphos (we cannot tell if it had one) and might have been the source of confusion. (In papyri of Homer, direct speeches within the poet's narrative are sometimes marked off by paragraphoi. I owe to Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands* 6a, an example in which the paragraphos is put under the first line of a speech, and not the last of the preceding narrative, namely *βάσκε' ἴθι, Ἴρι ταχεῖα* at *Il.* 11.186 in P. Reinach II 69. I am very grateful to Martin West for a generous selection of references which show that this is an anomaly, and not an effective parallel to the case under discussion.)

*εἰς καλόν* 'fortunately, opportunely' is normal in contexts of people arriving, as at M. *Samia* 280, where Austin's note gives examples, including *εἰς καλὸν ἦκει* 'it's good you're here' at Plato, *Symp.* 174e. *παρεῖναι* here, as at M. *Dysk.* 717 and elsewhere, presumably implies 'close at hand' rather than referring precisely to physical presence or (as it might if the situation were differently conceived) to a stage movement.

At the end, several different restorations are possible: *ον* itself is highly ambiguous (it could be *ὀ ν-* or *ὄν*, or the beginning of a proper name *Ὀν-* or *ὄ Ν-*), and the following trace is minimal ink level with the letter tops. *ὀ νυ[μφίος]* is one guess. But if (say) *ὀ νύ[ν παρών]* or anything else unconnected with *τῆς ἀδελφῆς* in 7 is adopted, a word will be needed in that line to go with the genitive: see below.

6 'Pitiable, ruined, crippled': the string of unconnected adjectives, marked by the triple stop, gives an enhanced pathetic effect, perhaps recognizably overdone, as in Aristophanes' description of the Euripidean Telephus as *χολὸς προσαιτῶν στρωμύλος δεινὸς λέγειν* at *Ach.* 429 (cf. 451 f., *νῦν δὲ γενοῦ γλίεχρος προσαιτῶν λιπαρών*).

*αῖθος*, lit. 'dry', is found in Menander in the sense of 'drained dry by fear' (*Ἐπιθ.* 901: LSJ s.v. 6), but in this context seems to anticipate a usage known from Lucian and elsewhere in the sense 'drained dry of money' ('stony broke' LSJ s.v. 7, citing, *inter alia*, *Toxaris* 16); at Alciphron 3.34 we have *ἐγὼ δὲ αἶθος ὦν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας* of a parasite shrivelled by hunger.

*πηρός* seems to fit the sense, but there is ink at the lower level which *π* does not explain. *ξηρός* (J. R. Rea) could be considered as a reading: what would it mean in juxtaposition with *αῖθος*?

The end of the line is obscure, given *ειεεν[* or *ειεαν[* for the *ειευν-* that was my original reading; also a scrap of papyrus with traces of two letters has been unjustifiably mounted at this point. *εἰς <ς> ἐναντίος* would complete the sense, but the data are too ambiguous for serious conjecture.

7 See above on 5: unless *κοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς* depends on a word there, it must be taken to depend on a word (probably beginning *αλλ-* or *ἀν-*) at the end of this line; it is not clear if there was punctuation after *ἀδελφῆς* or not. For the word-order, see Kühner–Gerth, *Gr. Gramm.* I 619 under 4.

*ἀλλὰ τί* (rather like 'So what?') dismissing the point in favour of a stronger one: as, for instance, at M. *Samia* 348 (end of line, as here), and (continuing) at 593 *ἀλλὰ τί | τοῦτο πρὸς ἐκεῖν' ἐστί*; The speaker turns from the case of the wealthy man to one which engages his interlocutor directly, that of the good citizen.

8 *τί; μάλιςτ'*, taking for granted that he is a Good Citizen, rather than *τί μάλιςτα*; 'What precisely do you mean?', as in Plato: LSJ s.v. *μάλα*, to which Colin Austin refers me.

8–9 *ἐπέχει[ς τ]*, if rightly read, must refer to something which the speaker proposes to knock down by shouting: i.e. a positive proposal or an offer made publicly in an assembly, where barracking was a notorious method of obstruction: *βοᾶν ὑποκρούειν λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας*, as Aristophanes puts it (*Ach.* 38). 'You propose something' (or whatever the word was) is itself to be taken as a proposition, not a statement: i.e. 'If (or When) you propose something, then I must . . .' — a kind of parataxis that is quite common in comedy, and recurs in passages of self-description, like that of the parasite at M. *Dysk.* 57–68 and the cook at 493–7 (see my *Dyskolos of Menander* ad locc.). The end requires a noun or its equivalent to go with *μετά*; for *πάντα* 'the whole scene', perhaps compare Ar. *Kn.* 99 f. *πάντα ταυτὶ καταπάω βουλευμάτων* 'I'll spatter the whole place with bright ideas.'

10 Originally I reconstructed this as *κάκ' ἂν ποῶμεν, ἔστι πεισθῆν[α]*, 'If we do harm, it is possible to be persuaded'. Here *ποῶμεν* would be better taken as referring ambitiously to the speaker and people like himself than divided, somewhat artificially, as *ποῶ μὲν*: Kühner–Gerth, *Gr. Gramm.* I 83 f.; *πεισθῆν[α]* should be in the sense of *πεισθῆναι χρήμασι* 'bribed' (Thuc. 1.137.2; LSJ s.v. A.11.2). However, closer scrutiny by RAC concludes that *πε. ωμεν* was written, and then *πεισθης[ ]*; *πέζωμεν* gives a Greek word, and that (or *περώμεν*) could be read, but I do not then see how to make coherent sense; *πάθωμεν* can be thought of, but not verified. If the stop after *]* is secure, *πεισθη[ς]* seems to be suggested; before it, Herwig Machler proposes *ε(ῖ)ς τ*.

11–12 One might guess from *μανθάνεις γε* in 12 that the passage continued in a similar vein: in 11 f. *ἀπέρχομ' ἂν π[άθω | ἀγαθόν τι . . .]*, or something similar, can be thought of. At the end of 12, the trace suggests *μ[*, as for *μ[ή]* or another monosyllable, and not *μ[* for *ν[αί]*.

13–15 The scrap, fr. 2, had been placed so that the traces in line 1 joined those at the end of 13 to give *]*υζηνη[ (then *ἦδ]ύς ἦν τ[ις* 'he was easy-going' is a possible conjecture); fr. 2.2 *]*μεικρ. [ would contribute some letters from the end of 14. But the placing is very uncertain; without it read *]*υζηνη[ in 13, which points to a line ending with *α]ύτην* or *τα]ύτην* and part of *τις*.

Fr. 2.2 *]*μεικρ. [: last letter apparently triangular (λ?), not c]μ{ε}ικρι[ν-.

3 Superscript letters might be read as a *nota personae*: RAC suggests *Γέτα[ς]*. Unfortunately nothing shows what part (if any) a Getas played in the scene examined so far.

E. W. HANDLEY

#### 4646. NEW COMEDY

A 14/4

fr. 1 4.3 × 13.5 cm

Second century  
Plate VII

These three scraps come from what was once a handsome papyrus roll of medium size containing a copy of a play of New Comedy. New Comedy is readily recognizable from style and content in the beginnings of iambic trimeters presented by fr. 1; fr. 2 and 3 may join to give an approximate original height. On the back, across the vertical fibres, the other way up from this side, are remains of lines (apparently a literary or subliterate text) written in a straggly semi-cursive hand assignable to the third century and later rather than earlier.

There is room for caution over the dating of these hands, not least because of the small extent of the specimens. The comic text is in a formal, medium-to-large sized round hand of the type known as Roman Uncial (G. Cavallo, *ASNP*, ser. II, 36 (1967) 209–20; Sir Eric Turner's reservations about the use of this (as of some other) names for styles of script

are well known: *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> Introd., and in particular p. 38 n. 1). This calligraphic style, the generous upper and lower margins, and the presence of carefully written lectional aids all speak of a professionally made copy of a well-known play. There is a marked tendency to serifs at the ends of strokes, horizontal and diagonal as well as vertical (ρ is especially notable). Possible comparisons are the Hesiod of XXIII 2354, and the Choral Lyric of XXXII 2624, the latter with Latin cursive on the back as well as some Greek (E. A. Lowe, *CLA* suppl. 1791). Both of these are assigned to the first half of the second century, and the back of 2624 to the second half. The editors quote further parallels; a recently published comic fragment in the same style is LIX 3972, which was tentatively assigned to the mid to late second century by me. If 4646 recto is to be dated similarly, and the dating suggested for the verso is correct, there must have been a substantial interval before the roll was turned over and reused.

The spacing of the line-beginnings on the back of fr. 1 does not match that of the line-ends on fr. 2+3, so that two different columns must be represented; there is nothing to show whether they were adjacent or not, or in what order they came. On the front, fr. 1 at lines 6–8 has recognizable content in the shape of a formula of betrothal: the parallels that verify this also show that there is more than one way in which the lines may have read, so that restoration is necessarily *exempli gratia*. What little is left of lines 1–5 may suggest that there was some discussion of the suitability of the match (4 ἔθει, φύζει . . . ‘by character and nature . . .’; 5 τί οὖν ἀηδέει . . . or the like ‘What’s wrong then . . .?’). What follows the betrothal, very swiftly, is a parting (12 εἰρρωσο . . .); then in 14–16 teasing references to forethought (πρόνοια), insomnia (ἀγρυπνώ or a related word), and what seems to be the expression of a wish (γένοιτο). ‘Teasing’ in the sense that perhaps the betrothal was one in which all was not as well as it might seem: for (a) the dowry mentioned may have been somewhat unusual (see the discussion of 6–8); and (b) sleeplessness, as we know from the beginning of Menander’s *Misoumenos* and its commentators, if not otherwise, is characteristic of an unhappy lover rather than a fulfilled one (or did he perhaps say ‘[No longer] am I sleepless’?). It is in any case to be noted that in formulaic situations like this, Menander sometimes seems more concerned to move the action on than to develop details, which therefore should not be pressed too hard: see on this my note in *Dyskolos of Menander* on 84r. The other column (fr. 2+3, line 1) contributes (or seems to do) πρεβεία. A possible context for the mention of a privilege of seniority, as the plot of Menander’s *Aspis* suggests, is a conflict of interests between brothers in one of the legal situations in which seniority is allowed to count: in *Aspis*, Smikrines asserts it over his younger brother Chairestratos with the intention of enforcing his right to marry their deceased brother’s daughter and so win control of her inheritance. (He is, of course, frustrated.) One can only wait and see whether any further discoveries will make it possible to say what function the mention of πρεβεία had in the comedy to which these scraps belonged.

This text, and the lines on the back, were briefly presented and discussed by me at the XIth International Congress of Classical Studies in Kavala, in a paper read on 26 August 1999 with the title ‘A double bill: two dramatic texts from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus’. I am

very grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to do that, as well as to Professor Christina Dedoussi and the other organizers of the Congress for their invitation and kind hospitality.

fr. 1

	top	
	δεινονγε[	δεινον γε[
	εις ηημ[	
	διαυτοτ[	δι' αὐτὸ τ[οὔτ(ο)
	εθειφν[	ἔθει φν[-
5	τιουναηδ[	τί οὖν ἀηδ[
	παιδωνε[	παιδων ἐ[π' ἀρότω
	διδωμιτ[	δίδωμι τ[
	προιξήμ[	προιξήμ[ι-
	κατατασδ[	κατὰ τὰς δ[-
10	γωπαθω[	ἐγὼ παθω[
	]γαπωνθ[	ἀ]γαπῶν θ[
	]ρρωσο·τὰ[	ἐ]ρρωσο· τὰ[λλα
	]μενβ[	
	]ρονοια·δ[	π]ρόνοια· δ[
15	]γρυπνω[	ἀ]γρυπνώ[
	]ενοιτ[	γ]ένοιτ[ο
	] . . . [	

2 .η, ink just before left-hand tip of the following η will belong to a serif/hook on it, and further horizontal traces to the left, suitable to top of Γ or τ 4 .[, left-hand half of round letter 5 ουν on broken fibres, first read by W. E. H. Cockle δ[, left-hand end of horizontal at line-level, joined a little to the right by an oblique descending from right to left 10 end of paragraphos noted by Cockle; at the end left-hand arc of ω or ο 15 .[, point of ink level with tops of letters

1 E.g. δεινὸν γέ[ροντι or γε[γέχθαι, beginning a gnomic line, or δεινὸν γε.

4 φύζει suits the trace. The stop need not imply a strong pause; it may simply be there to mark out elements in an asyndeton: ἔθει, φύζει; if that is so, probably with a parallel word preceding or following: cf. above 4645 ii 6, and (in a context of marriage), *M. Dysk.* 65f. πυνθάνομαι γένος, βίον, τρόπον.

5 Most likely ἀηδέει, asking what objection can be raised to the marriage under discussion; the line will have contained the reply οὐδὲ εἶν or something similar before the betrothal formula begins.

6–8 The words παιδων, δίδωμι and προιξ show that we have here a formula of betrothal. The paragraphos under 7 implies that the prospective bridegroom accepts before the dowry is mentioned, as Polemon does at *Perik.* 436/1014. Here, as there, λαμβάνω can be assumed to have stood at line end; Sandbach (ad loc.) gives examples of the formula and its variations in word order. Both γνησίων παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότω and παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότω γνησίων

occur; either could have stood here; and the rest of the expected content will likewise fit in in more than one way. As to dowries and their sizes, commentators on Menander (for instance Handley on *Dysk.* 842-4 and Sandbach on *Ephr.* 8/134) give examples and select references to the extensive modern bibliography. If ἤμι[- (note the breathing) is taken to indicate ἤμι[ιτάλαντον, as it seems likely to do, it will hardly be enough, by the standards known from Comedy, to be the whole amount: it should specify a sum of money to be augmented by real estate and/or other valuables. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* 1 (1968) 2-9 and 48-50, quotes some texts which show that dowries could be composite in this way, and makes it clear that, in different circumstances, the procedure from preliminary contract to marital union could go in stages. So, in XXXI 2533 (Kassel-Austin, *PCG* VIII 1098), the young man is told τὴν προίκα δ' αὐτὸς οἶσθα, 'the dowry you already know', after the betrothal formula has been pronounced, and before hearing what supplementary benefits are in store for him. Against this background, though it would be rash to claim any verbal authority for a restoration, the drift of what is happening is hardly in doubt, and one way it could have been expressed is as follows:

5 : τοιγαροῦν]  
 6 παίδων ἐ[π' ἀρότω γνησίων σοι, (proper name?)  
 7 δίδωμι τ[ὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα : λαμβάνω :  
 8 προίξῃ ἤμι[ιτάλαντον ἀργύρου, καὶ τὰλλα πρόσ,  
 9 κατὰ τὰς δεδομένους ἐγγύας . . .

6 might end with *Μοσχίων*, *Χαιρέφών* or another man's name suitable to the metre; in 7 *θυγατέρα* or perhaps *ἀδελφήν*; see below on fr. 2+3.1. There is no sign of a paragraphos for change of speaker until 10, though damage and abrasion may be responsible for that; the *mot juste* for a reply, wherever it came, is *δέχομαι*, as at *Dysk.* 748.

11 ἀ]γαπῶν θ[- (or θ') or -ώνθ'.

12 τὰ]λλα (the accent marking the crasis) seems more probable here than ταῦτα, τὰνδον or whatever.

13 E. g. ὁ] μὲν β[ίος, among several possibilities, such as ἀ] μὲν β[εβούλευμαι γάρ . . .

15 ἀγρυπνῶ, -νῶν; or, as Marcello Gigante remarked to me, ἀγρύπνω or -νω]. It could in any case have been preceded by a negative at the end of 14.

fr. 2+3

	] . cβε[	πρ]εσβε[ία
	] ωτστ[	-]ω τότ[ε
	] αιτω[	-]αί τω[α
	] . χη[	
5	] . . [	
	] . [	
	] . [	
	] . [	
10	] . [	
	] [	
	] . [	
	] [	
	] [	

15	] [
	] . . [
	] [
	] [
	] [
20	] β[ιου[
	] [
	] [
	] [
	] . [
	] . [

fr. 2 = 1-12, fr. 3 = 12-24 (the join is quite uncertain). 5-11, 13-19, 21-4 show few traces of ink, in some or most cases because of stripping (but some of the blank surface may represent lines ending short).

1 ] ., traces of mid-line horizontal with ink above 4 ] ., top of round letter 12 ] ., [ two traces, taken as parts of one letter shared between the joined fragments, might match the join on the verso, but give scant support to it (in any case, some of the ink showing may belong to the verso text) 24 ] ., this ink may belong to the verso text

1 πρ]εσβε[ία suits the first trace and the accent bridging two vowels. A following monosyllable or a disyllable with elision would give a line-ending, and that would suit τότε 2 and τωα 3; it is possible to think of the second metron, with τός' and τω' in elision, but not of the first.

For *πρεβεία*, see particularly Harrison (quoted above) 131 n. 4 and 152; Douglas M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* 92, 95 with n. 208, referring to Menander, *Aspis* 141-3, 185-7, 254-5; Sandbach on *Aspis* 164 (p. 76), 184, 187. Without context, there is no way to tell what is implied for the plot of the play by the appearance of this word: it may imply that (as in *Aspis*) there was a situation in which one brother asserted his right of seniority over another; but it is in any case prudent to allow that the person betrothing the girl may in fact be her brother (for all we can tell) and not her father as so often.

E. W. HANDLEY

## b. PROSE

### 4647. ENCOMIUM OF THE HORSE

66 6B.1/F(1-3)b

fr. 1 7.3 × 4.5 cm

Second/third century  
Plate V

On the back of three fragments of an official letter or report are remains of two columns of a prose text, upside down in relation to the recto text. Under the second column, of which only part of the last line survives, is the end-title in large, careful letters and framed by small diagonal strokes.

The documentary text on the recto, written by two different hands, does not help to establish the distance between the fragments; fr. 2 preserves the top margin on the recto side (and the bottom margin of the verso); fr. 3 belongs to the right of fr. 1 (both are in the same hand) because it preserves the ends of lines, but their position relative to each other cannot be determined.

On the verso, a narrow strip of the vertical fibres has been lost, running through from fr. 1.6 to fr. 2.8; after the line-ends of fr. 2 there is a blank space 4 cm wide. Some offsets can be discerned here.

The hand is small, somewhat cramped and irregular; it leans slightly to the right. Apart from *αι*, there are few ligatures. No accents or breathings; punctuation only once (fr. 1.5); apostrophe in fr. 1.4–5 *ελαττον*; some corrections and additions above the line, by the same hand. The orthography is poor (*ε* for *αι* fr. 1.3, *ι* for *ει* fr. 1.3, fr. 2.2, 4, 8; *ω* for *ο* perhaps fr. 1.8); iota adscript is not written at the only place that requires it (fr. 2.10 *αυτω*).

Composing praises (*εγκώμια*) of persons and all kinds of objects was an important part of rhetorical training; many of the extant 'introductions' to rhetoric (*προγυμνάσματα*) contain a 'definition of praise' (*ῥος εγκωμίου*), e.g. Theon (*Rhetores graeci* II 109–12 Spengel = pp. 74–8 Patillon–Bolognesi), Aphthonius (II 35–6 Sp.), Nikolaos Sophistes (III 477 Sp.). Among the objects of praise, Aphthonius mentions *ἄλογα ζῶα, ὡς ἵππον ἢ βοῦν*. Strangely, no *εγκώμιον ἵππου* has been preserved among the *progymnasmata* of the known orators, although an *εγκώμιον βοός* is found in the *Progymnasmata* of Libanius (VIII 267–73 Foerster) and of Nikolaos (*Rhetores graeci* I 332–3 Walz). The piece by Libanius does contain a comparison (*σύγκρισις*) of the qualities of ox and horse (§§ 10–13, pp. 271–2 Foerster), which claims that the ox is in many ways more useful than the horse. Our papyrus text is the first direct example of a rhetorical *εγκώμιον ἵππου* in prose. In a general way, our author seems to follow the advice of Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 40 (p. 17 Rabe) concerning praises of animals (*ἄλογα ζῶα*): *ἔρεϊς τίνι θεῶν ἀνάκειται, οἶον . . . ὁ ἵππος τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὁμοίως δὲ ἔρεϊς πῶς τρέφεται, ποταπὸν τὴν ψυχὴν, ποταπὸν τὸ σῶμα, τίνα ἔργα ἔχει, ποῦ χρέσιμα κτλ.* (Latin version in Priscian, *Præexercitationum* 7 = *Opuscula* I, ed. Marina Passalacqua, Roma 1987, pp. 42–4). But the name of the author does not appear in the end-title; that too suggests that this piece, hastily written and badly spelled on reused papyrus, represents an autograph exercise, not a substantive text.

	col. i		col. ii
Fr. 1		Fr. 3	
↓	. . . [ ] ο . . . [ ] ]εναι εναφθονοιδεδι ετωμενονπλουτουδοκι αγλαισμα [ ] ναιουκελατ'	[ ] . μεωσα . . . α [ ] [ ]	

5	τον οιοσμενγαροιππ[ . . . ] ΠΠΟΥ '
	ωνευθυσ[ . . . ] νετ αι και τ[ ] ΚΩΜΙΟΝ ' ,
	νημααυ[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] ι τ ω [ . . . ]
	ωχηματι[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]
	. . . βλεπ[ . . . ] . . . ε πα [ . . . ]
10	. . . ] ων πα . αδοξωνκα [ . . . ]
	. . . ] τ ω ν με . α λα μ β α ν ι [ . . . ]
	. . . [ . . . ] . δ . [ . . . ] . ι σ [ . . . ] . κ ι [ . . . ]

Fr. 2

	. . . ] . . . η ν
	. . . ] α [ . . . ] . . . ] ρ α π τ ι α σ κ α ι
	. . . ] ι μ α [ . . . ] ο ν ο [ . . . ] α ν π ο μ π α σ
	κ ο σ μ [ . . . ] κ α ι π α ν η γ [ . . . ] ρ ι σ ι π
5	π ο σ δ [ . . . ] . ν θ ρ ω π ο ι σ κ α ι κ υ σ
	τ ρ α τ ε . ε τ α ι κ α ι κ υ ν ο π λ ι
	ζ ε τ α [ . . . ] ρ ο μ ε τ ω π ι δ ι ο ι σ
	μ ε ν [ . . . ] ο ν κ ρ α ν ι π ρ ο σ
	σ τ ε ρ ν ι δ ι α δ ε κ α ι π α ρ α
10	μ η ρ ι δ ι α ο σ α θ ω ρ α ξ α υ τ ω
	κ α λ υ μ μ α τ ο υ σ ω μ α τ ο σ

Fr. 1 1 ] . [ , foot of an upright . . . [ , a round letter, followed by three uprights: ] ο ι π [ possible 7 ] . . . [ , dot level with tops of letters, followed by trace of an upright and a small letter (ε?) above, then a round letter (?) ω [ almost certain 7–8 in left-hand margin two specks of ink, presumably from a preceding column 8 ] . . . [ , trace of a small, round letter (ο?), then a low diagonal rising to right: λ likely 9 . . . , upper arc of rounded letter?; top of upright with horizontal joining from left ] . . . , trace of a small round letter; then base of Δ, Z or Ξ . . . [ , N or Γ, just possibly π 12 ] . . . , top of a half-circle: ε or c . . . [ , top of an upright ] ε [ or ] η ε [ ; the fibres are distorted, but a re-examination by Dr Coles suggests that these letters belong to the main text, with another letter, perhaps ] α , suprascript; then top of an angular letter, possibly λ, λ or μ . . . , tops of two diagonals descending from left and right respectively (x likely), followed by top of upright

Fr. 2 1 ] . . . , feet of three diagonals rising to right: α λ λ possible 2 ] . . . [ , a low diagonal rising to right, then a small round letter: λ ο ? 3 ] ι μ α [ . . . ] ο ν ο [ ] α , no gaps in the papyrus but the surface is slightly abraded

Fr. 3 2 ] . . . , trace descending from left: λ α ? α . . . , after α a long descender, curving to right at bottom; small upright; foot of diagonal rising to right: λ, μ possible



## 4648. PROSE ON STAR-SIGNS QUOTING HOMER, HESIOD, AND OTHERS

30 4B.35/F(1-3)a

9.5 × 22 cm

Third century  
Plate VI

Top and thirty-three lines of a column of prose on the science of astronomy written in an informal hand on the back a much-rubbed third-century petition to a prefect of Egypt (whether a loose sheet or a piece cut from a roll cannot be determined). The author strings together quotations of Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus, Aeschylus and Sophocles, and mentions Aratus prominently. The author's main interest in astronomy seems to be in connection with one or more of these authors, rather than in astronomy per se.

The top margin is 2.5 cm deep. Restoration of 25 and 28 on the basis of the quotations (not written in ekthesis) shows that the right edge of the fragment is within a letter or two of line-end. Thus 7-8 letters can be calculated as missing at the beginnings of 23-33, slightly more (8-10) in 1-22. Therefore the lines had c.30 letters, producing a column c.9 cm in width, as reconstructed, containing at least 33 lines for a height of at least 19.5 cm.

The hand is a bilinear, oval, sloping version of the mixed style. Letters show contrastive width, being taller than they are wide. ο is sometimes diminutive, floating in the middle as one would expect in the Severe Style, but is sometimes full height and oval, cocked slightly to the right. μ has a deep middle and ω curved sides meeting in the centre in an apex. φ with flattened top and triangular body pointing downward. λ has a top curving to the left over the apex in a hook, more pronounced in Δ, λ. Tail of γ is in a loop, often closed. Development out of the Severe Style rather than into it is suggested. A date in the later third century is consistent with its reused front.

Punctuation is by high point (9, 16). Double consonants are separated by apostrophe (3 τ'τ), a practice whose advent is datable to the late second century (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 10 with n. 50). Diaeresis is not written internally (17 *Πληγαδων*), but is written initially in 8 and 10. The text exhibits iotacistic orthography (ει for ι, 6, 30; ι for ει 13), and at least one misspelling (11 ἀξιόφίτωσ). The scribe does not write iota adscript, nor does he elide final vowels (19), wherever we can tell, except probably in the quotations in 26-7 (judged from spacing).

The subject as preserved is the usefulness of star-signs for weather or time-reckoning, as evidenced by the poets cited, or the fact that they attest this. The author quotes examples of weather-signs or astronomical time-reckoning from Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Sophocles, while quoting Callimachus in order to establish the affinity of Aratus with Hesiod. At the beginning of the column the author credits someone (Homer?) with views on the heaven (2-3) and as expressing this enigmatically (αἰ]νιττόμενος). There follow two citations from Homer that show Odysseus using the stars to keep time at night. Underscoring the interest of the stars to wise-men and sea-farers alike, the author adduces Hesiod's use of the stars in his *Opera et dies* as marking the time for harvest and ploughing (15-20) with a quotation of *Op.* 383-4 on the rising and setting of the Pleiades. After noting that Hesiod

was imitated by Aratus (23-4), and quoting as evidence for this Callim. *Epigr.* 27.1-3 Pf. (25-8), he then quotes the words of the watchman at Aesch. *Agam.* 4-5 asserting the usefulness of the stars for knowledge of the seasons (31-2). As the column breaks off, he is citing Sophocles, presumably to the same end. The author employs a somewhat florid rhetorical style in introducing the quotation from Aeschylus at 28-31. He admits hiatus (most egregiously in 25), and abbreviates quotations standard in the handbooks.

Lines 15-28 all deal in some way with Hesiod (as author of *Op.*), perhaps the focus of the author's interest as a source for star-lore. Another possible candidate is Aratus, named in 23, for whom the author has used elements of the *Lives* known from various versions in the medieval MSS, including the quotation of Callimachus *Epigr.* 27 Pf. to illustrate Aratus' use of Hesiod as a model. At 4-6 and 23-8 the text comes verbally close to phrasing in *Lives* 1 (by the grammarian Achilles), II, and IV (Martin), but then diverges dramatically, as it does in general throughout. Of the other five quotations in the papyrus (designated in the translation below), (i) (vii) and (viii) are a subset of those used to the same ends by the grammarian Achilles in his treatise *Περὶ τοῦ παντός* — in the order (viii) (vii) (i) — which along with *Life* I and a treatise on the interpretation of Aratus (*Περὶ ἐξηγήσεως*) stand in the medieval MSS of Aratus as an introduction to his *Phaenomena*. The text does not seem to be a commentary. If it is a *Vita Arati*, it is very different from the transmitted ones, including *Life* I, with which it shares material. Alternatively it could be a treatise of some sort, or an abridgement of Achilles' *Life of Aratus* for the purpose of rhetorical exercise, biography, or as the introduction to a commentary on Aratus' *Phaenomena*. On the identity of the author see further on 23-4.

Three papyri of Aratus bear brief marginal annotation: XV 1807 + P. Köln IV 185 (roll, II AD); P. Lond. Lit. 34 + MPER III 17 (codex, IV AD); LXIV 4423 (roll, II-III AD). P. Berol. inv. 5865 = BKT 5.1 p. 54 (codex, III-IV AD), edited by E. Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* (Berlin 1898) pp. lxix and 536 with Taff. 1-11 (re-edited by M. Maehler, *APF* 27 (1980) 19-32 with Abb. 2) consists of scholia to Aratus' *Phaenomena*, and contains mythological and astronomical information in its annotation. The only example of a systematic hypomnema on Aratus extant on a papyrus is LXIV 4426 (roll, II/III). Unlike that text, which consists of elementary verbal explanation and abbreviated paraphrase, the present text shows some signs, through its affinity with Achilles, of drawing on the tradition of astronomical scholarship represented in the later scholia.

The quotation of Hesiod *Op.* 383 in 17 exhibits at least one inferior reading that it shares with *IT*<sup>19</sup> and several elements of the secondary tradition, and it may have had another in the lacuna in 18. The quotation of Callim. *Epigr.* 27. 1-3 Pf. gives in the first verse a unique and previously unattested variant (26 αοιδω[]), providing welcome and hitherto lacking ancient testimony for an emendation first proposed by Scaliger and now accepted by some editors and translators.

For the lives of Aratus we have used the numeration and text of J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956); for the ancient commentaries his *Scholia in Aratum vetera* (Leipzig 1974). For Achilles' *Εἰσαγωγή*, E. Maass' edition (Berlin 1898) has been



superseded by that of G. Di Maria, *Achillis quae feruntur Astronomica et in Aratum opuscula: De universo, De Arati vita, De Phaenomenorum interpretatione*, Studi e ricerche 27 (Palermo 1996). For the attribution of the *Εἰσαγωγή* to the grammarian Achilles (first proposed by Maass), see Martin, op. cit. pp. 130–2 and 140–50; Di Maria, op. cit. pp. vii–xii. Di Maria (p. xi n. 8) accepts the identification of the grammarian Achilles with Achilles Tatius, author of the romance *Leucippe and Clitophon*.

]. . . . και ἐξ . . . ηνης παλιναυπο . [ . . . . . ηενδε τουρανω κλεις [ . . . . . ] νι τ' τομενοσται των [ . . . . . ] αις διοικεισθαι παντα [ 5 ] τ . σοφιστηνου μονονω [ ] μννεναλλα και η κρειβω [ ] ανοναστραπαρεδωκεν . [ ] σ . [ . . . ] αμον . ναλλα και εντη [ ] χ . κεν . επλεωνυξ . τωνδ . [ 10 ] . νομων νιναμη απιστω [ ] ε [ . . . . ] . τικαι αξιοφιστως . [ ] ν [ . . . . ] σοφω και ησιωτηω [ ] . σειδιαπιραν πλουη κον [ ] επησταυταομοιωσηπε [ 15 ] ] ος . . . ασκραιος και τανα [ ] αιοτατα της γεωργιας . [ ] ετρειπληαδωνατλα . [ ] ομεναων και πιτοναμ [ ] ηενδυομενων δε επ . . [ 20 ] ] . αιοτε . ιωνεστιν τρυ . [ ] . αρε . [ . . ] . ακαι λωστιν . [ ] αιτις οακροκν [ . . ] φαιο παρ [ ] ηκαμενουδηαρατος ζη . [ ] νησεγενετωσμηδετον [ 25 ] ] ονεσφαλθαι ειποντα ησι οδ [ ] ακαιοτροποσουτοναοιδω [ ] οκνεωμητομελιχροτατο [ ] νοσολευσαπεμαξατοκαιτη [ ] . δεδικαιωσαντισειποιμη . [

30 ] τωνορφανηνοελευσεινιο [ ] αστρωνκατο [ ] δανυκτερω . [ ] και τουσφ . ροντασχειμακα [ ] οδεσοφοκλε . . . . . [

1 beginning before και: feet of upright, last in series a complete upright after εξ: trace in upper-left quadrant and two traces at mid-level, then upright as of ι, followed by upright hooking to right at top end after πο: upright slanting right at top with hook over left, α, α, λ suggested 2 beginning: foot of upright, bottom of round letter; ω suggested, foot of upright, round letter; ο suggested, foot of upright before η: right end of high horizontal, perhaps connecting-stroke from preceding letter 3 top of upright as of ι or flat tall back of c 5–11 first letter of each line preserved on a detached strip 5 hasta of τ is blotted and extends above the top-stroke 6 far left edge round letter at mid-height as of ο, ω 7 trace at mid-level suggesting far left edge of ο, ω 8 after ε slanting back of round letter as ε, c after μον: upright with rounded top as of ε, ο, c 9 after χ: trace at mid-level compatible with far left edge of ω after κεν: diagonal hooking over left at apex as of α, α, λ end after τωνδ: trace of angled letter connecting to α at base-line as of α, α, ε, c 10 before νομ: indistinguishable trace on edge at mid-height, then round letter as of ο or ω, followed by top of upright with diagonal descending as from κ or perhaps η 11 before τι: two diagonals meeting at apex as in α or λ or η end after τωσ: upright connected at top to horizontal slanting upward as τ, π 13 trace of upright or right side of round letter as ο, θ 15 after οσ: round letter not closed at top as of ω, followed by upright, then small tight round letter with pointed bottom, ο or c suggested 16 speck of high ink as high point or left tip of horizontal of τ 17 upright as of ι, γ, η, η 18 beginning before ομ: lower end of diagonal curving at base-line as of λ, μ, x after και: upright curving to right at top as of ε, c 19 before ησ: connecting stroke from preceding letter at base-line as of e.g. λ, μ, x end after επ: upright with horizontal connecting at top followed by foot of upright at base-line as π or ιτ 20 before αιο: end of high diagonal or horizontal as of κ, γ or τ after τε: right and left sides of a round letter as of ο, θ or ω (if narrower than elsewhere), then small tight high circle as of ρ end after τρυ: upright with high horizontal attached as of τ, π 21 beginning: top of upright connecting to vertical stroke with rounded hook at top and finishing in a foot extending to the right at baseline, π only if more cursive in form than elsewhere (cf. π 13 πλου); not μ, κ, c after αρε: upright with horizontal connecting at top as of τ, π before ακαι: vertical stroke slanting to right at top as of ι, η, η, π after ακαι: trace of vertical ink compatible with upright or side of round letter end after τω: upright with rounded hook at bottom as of ε, c 22 after τωσ: speck of ink centred in space at mid-level after αιο: top of upright with curved stroke attached at top as of τ, c 23 upright slanting to right at top as of λ, μ 24 horizontal slanting upwards at right as of γ or tongue of ε 29 beginning: diagonal joining to base of upright, η suggested end: upright connecting to horizontal at top as τ, π, but the latter slightly preferable given the final 31 upright in left half of space as τ, η, κ, η, π 32 top of high bowl as ο, θ, ρ 33 tops of five letters: (i) high horizontal ink as α, π, τ, ο; (ii) c or right arm of γ; (iii) c or ε; (iv) prima facie η (but narrower than elsewhere); (v) top of diagonal in middle of space as α, λ; not α

. . . . ] . . . . και ἐξ εἰρήνης πάλιν αὖ πολ[ε-  
μ . . . . . ] φησιν δὲ τῷ οὐρανῷ κλεις [ ( . . )  
. . . . . ] . [ . . αἰ ] νιττόμενος ταῖς τῶν [  
ἄστρον ἀνατολ]αῖς διοικεῖσθαι πάντα τ[ὰ  
5 καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὥστε] τὸν σοφιστὴν οὐ μόνον ὦ[-  
κείωσεν καὶ ἐκέ]μνυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠκρεῖβω[-

- 56 *κεν. τὰ δὲ κατ' οὐρ]ανὸν ἄστρα παρέδωκεν οἱ[ὕ-  
κ ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσ]σε[ί]α μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰ[λι-  
άδι φησὶ] “ἱπαροί]χκεν δὲ πλέω νύξ· / τῶν δὲ οὐ-  
10 μοιράων,” [προ]οικονομῶν ἵνα μὴ ἀπιστῶ[σι  
καὶ] “Ἰλληιάδας τ' ἐσορῶ]ντι” καὶ ἀξιοφίςτως [·  
.....]ν[.....]σοφῶ καὶ νησιώτῃ ω[  
.....]· εἰς διάπ(ε)ῖραν πλοῦ ἠκόν[τι,  
ἀλλ' ἔγνω μὲν ὁ ἦδυ]επῆς ταῦτα ὁμοίως. ἦπε[ι-  
15 ρώτης δὲ γεωργ]ὸς ὧν ὁ Ἀσκραῖος καὶ τὰ να[υ-  
τικὰ ἀγνοῶν, τὰ δὲ βεβ]αιότατα τῆς γεωργίας,[  
τὰς ὄρας καταμ]ετρεῖ “Ἰλληιάδων Ἀτλαι]γε-  
νέων[.....]τελ]λομενάων” καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμ[η-  
τον τότε ἐξώρ]μησεν, “δυομένων” δὲ ἐπὶ τ[ὸν  
20 ἄροτον, καθάπερ] καὶ ὅτε Ὠρίων ἐστὶν τρυγ[  
.....]παρε[. . .] α καὶ ὄλωσ τιπέ[ε]  
φασιν, ὅταν κ]αὶ τις ὁ “ἀκροκν[έ]φαιος” παρ[ῆ].  
ὡς δὲ προειρ]ήκαμεν, οὐ δὴ Ἄρατος ζηλ[ω-  
τῆς οὐκ ἀ]γενῆς ἐγένετο, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν [  
25 .....]ον ἐσφάλθαι εἰπόντα “Ἡσιόδου  
το] [·] ἱἄειμ]α καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶ]ν / ἔ-  
χρατον ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατο]ν / ἔ-  
τῶν ἐπέω]ν ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο”. καὶ τῆ[ν  
ρήσιν τῆ]νδε, δικαίως ἂν τις εἴποι μὴ γ[νώ-  
30 σεως τοῦ]των ὀρφανῆν, ὁ Ἐλευσεῖνιο[ε  
τραγωδεῖ] “ἄστρων κάτο]ιδα νυκτέρων ἰό-  
μῆγυριν] / καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα κα]ὶ  
θέρος”. ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλέους Νᾶ[ύπλιος  
Aesch. *Agam.* 4–5  
Soph. *Naupl. TGrF* IV 432*

... after peace yet again war (*several words missing*). He says that for the heaven ... expressing in a veiled way that all our affairs are controlled by the risings of stars, so that he not only appropriates the rôle of the wise man and speaks impressively, but also is scientifically accurate. He has related the stars in the heaven not only in the *Odyssey*, but also in the *Iliad*, controlling his composition in advance in order that they not find it unconvincing, he says (10. 252–3)

- (i) The greater part of the night has passed;  
of the two parts  
and (*Od.* 5. 272)  
(ii) keeping his eye on the Pleiades  
and (*several words missing*) plausibly (*several words missing*) to a clever man and an islander and having come to experience sailing, while the poet knew these (nautical) things likewise. But Hesiod, being a farmer from the mainland and not knowing things about sailing, but rather (knowing) the most dependable aspects of farming, measures the year from (*Op.* 383)  
(iii) the rising of the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas  
and sallied forth to the harvesting, and from (*Op.* 383)  
(iv) their setting  
(sallied forth) to the ploughing, exactly as when Orion is (*several words missing*) grape-harvest, and some say entirely so, when the star (*Op.* 576)  
(v) rising at dusk  
is also present in some places. As I said previously, Aratus was indeed no mean imitator of him (sc. Hesiod), seeing that Callimachus did not err when he said (*Epigr.* 27. 1–3 Pf.)  
(vi) It's Hesiod's music and it's Hesiod's genre:  
not the ultimate one that poets (or: poems?) can have,  
but blimey if Aratus of Soli hasn't taken as a model  
the best of his verses.  
The following speech, one might justly say not bereft of knowledge in this matter, Aeschylus of Eleusis composes in the tragic style (*Agam.* 4–5)  
(vii) I know the assembled company of stars that wander in the night,  
and the ones that bring on for mortals the winter and summer.  
Moreover the *Nauplios* of Sophocles (says) (*TGrF* IV 432)  
(viii) . . .

1–2 καὶ ἐξ εἰρήνης πάλιν αὐ πολ[εμ-]. For the phrasing, cf. Lucian, *De parasito* 39. 5 εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὃ βέλτετε, καιροὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίου, ὁ μὲν τις εἰρήνης, ὁ δ' αὐ πολέμου. The reference may be to *Il.* 18. 490 ff., the city at peace and the city at war. Or we could have a contrast between Homer and Hesiod on war vs. peace: Hesiod's treatment of star signs in *Opera* as opposed to the emphasis on war in Homer's poetry. For the contrast (without appeal to the stars) see *Certamen* 205–12 (cf. T 22. 81–2 Colonna) ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἡσιόδον ἐστεφάνωσεν εἰπὼν δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ γεωργίαν καὶ εἰρήνην προκαλούμενον νικᾶν, οὐ τὸν πολέμου καὶ σφαγᾶς διεξιόντα (follows directly after Hesiod's recitation of *Op.* 383–92, against Homer's of *Il.* 13. 126–33, 339–44). The following lines here, however, give quotations showing Homer's use of the stars for practical purposes. πάλιν with the opposites war and peace might suggest perpetual recurrence, such as is found in the regular reappearance of star-signs.

2 φησιν. Homer is the most likely subject (less likely the Hesiod of *Op.* or the Hesiodic *Ἀστρονομία*), in light of the quotations that follow in 7–10, and the absence of a place for the introduction of his name in the following lines.

τῷ οὐρανῷ. In Homer οὐρανός is the abode of the gods, not the place of the stars, but see *Il.* 18. 483 ἐν μὲν γαίαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν, *Od.* 5. 273 ἐν δέ τε τείρεα πάντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται (both cited by Achilles, *De universo* 1,9–11 Di Maria = p. 29,30–30,6 Maass).

κλειε[. One could posit τῷ οὐρανῷ κλειε[ | [τὰ ἄστρα εἶ]ναι (i.e. κλειε[ = κλειδα; for the contracted form, standard in later authors: e.g. Plut. *Avat.* 23. 4. 4 and often: see LSJ s.v. κλειε[ and Suppl. s.v. 1 3). κλειε[ in the metaphorical sense of 'means of access' (for which see LSJ s.v. 1 4) is not earlier than Aeschylus and Pindar: see Aesch. *TrGF* III 316 ἔστι κλειε[ κλειε[ ἐπὶ γλώσσει; Pi. *P.* 8. 4 Ἀσυχία βουλὰν τε καὶ πολέμων ἔχουσα κλειδα (cf. 9. 39); cf. Soph. *OC* 1052 (lyr.); Eur. *Med.* 661 (lyr.) καθαρὰν ἀνοίξει κληδα φρενῶν (of Aphrodite); Aristoph. *Thesm.* 976 (lyr.) κληδα γάμου φυλάττει (of Hera), perhaps with allusion to the sacred keys of temples held by cult officials. It is not exemplified in Homer, Hesiod or Aratus (at *Phaen.* 192 οἷη δὲ κληιδι θύρην ἐντοσθ' ἀραρυίαν Aratus compares Cassiopeia to the 'key of a two-fold door', but that passage can hardly be the reference of κλειε[ here). For its use in the sense of a 'key' to a problem, 'means of understanding', see e.g. Vett. Val. 179. 4 Pingree. However, κλειε[ also means 'bar' or 'bolt', and if that is the operant sense here, the reference might be to the stars as guarantors of the fixity of the heaven (cf. Parmenides fr. 1,14 D.–K.). But 'keys to the heaven' is a phrase used neither by Homer nor by Aratus or Hesiod. If Homer is the subject of φησιν, the author is not quoting or paraphrasing a specific passage, but giving his own interpretation of what Homer says (perhaps the point of 3 αἰ]νιττόμενος). The construction with the dative is odd (one expects genitive, as at *Matth.* 16. 19 δώσω σοι τὰς κλειδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν). Professor Parsons suggests τῷ οὐρανῷ κλειε[ (τὴν εἶναι] τ[ὴν γῆν, noting that some MSS of Cornutus quote Hes. *Theog.* 271 with περί πάντων ἔργου.

3 αἰ]νιττόμενος advances an interpretation of what Homer says literally in the quotations in 7–10.

4 ἄστρον ἀνατολ]αῖς (Parsons). Cf. Joh. Damasc. *Exp. Fidei* 21.

4–5 τ[ὰ καθ' ἡμῶν (Parsons), πράγματα, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ or the like must have stood here.

5 τὸν σοφιστήν. Presumably a predecessor (i.e. Orpheus or Musaeus?), or a philosopher whose doctrines he (sc. Homer?) anticipated. According to Achilles, *De universo* 1,9–11 Di Maria (= p. 30,13–14 Maass), both Crates and Apion Pleistonics attest ὅτι ἄστρονόμος Ὁμηρος. For claims for a philosophical basis for the astronomy of Aratus, see *Vit. Avati* II 29–30 Martin ἔχρησάτο γὰρ τῆ τῶν φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων δυνάμει. εἶναι γὰρ φησι τὸ διοικῶν τὸν κόσμον ἀκριβῶς περί τε τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ μῆνας καὶ ἡμέρας. Here διοικῶν seems to correspond to 4 διοικεῖσθαι and ἀκριβῶς to 6–7 ἠκριβῶς[εν.

7 τὰ δὲ κατ' οὐρανόν: as in Achilles, *De universo* 1,9–11 Di Maria (= p. 30,8–9 Maass). Or κατὰ τὸ πιθανόν?

ἄστρα παρέδωκεν: i.e. Homer transmits a useful account of the stars. In the case of the *Iliad*, the reference (as the quotation shows) is to *Il.* 10. 252–3. In the case of the *Odyssey*, the reference may be to *Od.* 12. 312:

ἦμος δὲ τρίχα νυκτὸς ἔην, μετὰ δ' ἄστρα βεβήκει

or to *Od.* 5. 272–5 (272 is apparently quoted in 11). Also relevant for Homer's scientifically accurate use of star-signs is *Il.* 18. 483–6 (constellations on Achilles' shield). In all except the last the speaker is Odysseus and the subject is the reckoning of the hours at night by the stars. But there is no room in these lines to restore the name of Homer or Odysseus. (9[ at the end of 7 offers such an opportunity, but then there will not be room for οὐκ, necessary in 8.) Presumably Homer's name appeared in the lines preceding this column.

8–9 ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι. Citation of the title here is assured by the dieresis over ι.

9–10 *Il.* 10. 252–3:

ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παροίχουκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ  
τῶν δύο μοιράων, τρίτατη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λείπεται.

These lines are quoted by Achilles, *De universo* 1,9–11 Di Maria (= p. 30,8–9 Maass) in a list of Homeric passages cited to substantiate that Homer spoke περί ἄστρον, περί ὧλων and περί ἀστρολογίας.

9 -χωκεν with Dorotheus, ApD, EtG, Epm., W: -χηκεν(ν) ΣD, Achilles (loc. cit.), Porph. *Il.* 147. 12 Schr., Z Ω\*.

πλέων with ΣD, Achilles (loc. cit.), Z Ω\*: πλέων Porph. *Il.* 147. 12 Schr.: πλείων G: πλεον W: πλεο Choer.

10 μοιράων. The entire line *Il.* 10. 253 τῶν δύο μοιράων, τρίτατη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λείπεται was omitted by Zenodotus and atheized by Aristophanes and Aristarchus (so Schol. A II. 253a), apparently occasioning its imitation by Apollonius of Rhodes 3. 1340–1 ἦμος δὲ τρίτατον λάχος ἡμασος ἀνομένοιο / λείπεται ἐξ ἡούς: see U. v. Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 60; A. Rengakos, *Der Homertext und die hellenistischen Dichter*, Hermes Einzelschriften 64 (Stuttgart 1993) 70. For the stars as indicators of time see O. Wenskus, *Astronomische Zeitangaben von Homer bis Theophrast*, Hermes Einzelschriften 55 (Stuttgart 1990).

10–11 προοικονομῶν: This and the quotation of *Od.* 5. 272 in 11 are recovered from Schol. T on *Il.* 10. 252–3, commenting on πλέων νύξ / τῶν δύο μοιράων: ὅθεν καὶ τὸ "Πηλιάδας τ' ἐσορῶντι" (*Od.* 5. 272) φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς. προοικονομεῖ οὖν, φασί, τὴν Ὀδύσειαν. For the sense of προοικονομεῖω (sc. τὴν Ὀδύσειαν) referring to unity and consistency in Homer's plan for the poems as wholes, see Schol. *Il.* 2. 260a Erbse and cf. Schol. *Il.* 10. 247b Erbse.

11 *Od.* 5. 272. At 272–7 Calypso has given Odysseus elaborate instructions for navigation by the Pleiades, Boötes, the Bear (a.k.a. the Wagon) and Orion, advising him to keep the Bear on his left:

Πηλιάδας τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὀψὲ δύνοντα Βοώτην  
Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν,  
ἣ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεῖναι,  
οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοστρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο·  
τὴν γὰρ δὴ μὲν ἄνωγε Καλυψώ, δία θεάων,  
ποντοπορευέμεναι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χεῖρὸς ἔχοντα.

ἀξιοφίτως. For the spelling see Thraette, *Grammar* I p. 468, possibly a mere misspelling of ἀξιοπίτως (could it have been induced by 5 σοφιστήν?).

11–15 These lines appear to contrast the island-born Homer, who therefore (in the *Odyssey* in connection with Odysseus) related astronomical phenomena to navigation, with the non-sailing and agricultural Hesiod (who used star-signs to mark the seasons appropriate to different agricultural activities). 12 νησιώτη might refer to Homer the Chiot, 13 to Hesiod as someone 'who has [rarely] come to experience sea-travel'. But Schol. T on *Iliad* 10. 252–3 suggests the approach followed in the reconstruction: Homer says this in order to construct a convincing portrait of Odysseus. 12–14 might have continued 'and this utterance could be plausibly (11 ἀξιοφίτως) ascribed to Odysseus, a clever man and an islander (σοφῶν καὶ νησιώτη) and because of profit having frequently come to experience sailing' (e.g. καὶ ἀξιοφίτως τ[οῦ] ἀναφέρειν [ἀνδρὶ] σοφῶν καὶ νησιώτη ὡ[ς] φελέει πολλὰ κ[αὶ] εἰς διάπ[ε]ραν πλοῦ ἠκόν[τι]).

13 εἰς διάπ[ε]ραν πλοῦ ἠκόν[τι]. For the idiom see Hdt. 2. 77 τῶν ἐς διάπ[ε]ραν ἀπικόμεν; id. 1. 47 ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπ[ε]ραν τῶν χρηστηρίων; Demosth. 44. 58, 56. 18 τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς διάπ[ε]ραν καὶ λόγον κατέστησαν; Aeschin. 1. 184. The proof of the usefulness of astronomy comes from practical experience (sailing and farming) and observation of signs as required for those pursuits. The same theme is struck up and poetic authorities are quoted in a similar series in the treatise of Achilles, *De universo* 1,1–2 Di Maria (= p. 28,7–16 Maass) to instantiate the beginnings of astronomy: τῷ κατακόπτω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν περιτύθη ποιῶν (sc. Αἰσχύλος; cf. 27. 6, 30. 15 εὐρηθήναι). Achilles then quotes Aesch. *Agam.* 4–6, as does the present text below at 31–3.

14 ὁ ἠδὲ]επής (Parsons): sc. Homer.

ταῦτα: sc. ναυτικά (cf. 15–16).

ὁμοίως: i.e. just like Odysseus.

14–15 ἠπε[ι]ρώτης (Parsons) provides the obvious contrast to 12 νησιώτη. Less certain is γεωργός; we could instead have Ἡσιόδ[ος] (but see next note).

15 ὁ Ἀσκραῖος: viz. Hesiod. The practice of referring in citations and quotations to a known individual by his ethnic is a Hellenistic affectation which reflects methods of Alexandrian scholarship in cataloguing, indexing (*pinakes*), and biography. (Early instances such as 'Simonides Amorginos' are poetic.) Such a designation, often better and more securely known than a patronymic, was employed in order to disambiguate otherwise homonymous individuals (as undertaken e.g. in Demetrius of Magnesia's *Περὶ συνωνύμων*, often cited by Diog. Laer.: see

J. Mejer, 'Demetrius of Magnesia: On Poets and Authors of the Same Name', *Hermes* 109 (1981) 447–72). For this type of antonomasia in poetry with ample instances in Augustan Latin verse, see J. Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics* (New York and Oxford 1991) 33–5, who identifies it (p. 35) as 'in the Alexandrian mold', used 'to designate the symbolic Hesiod of the Alexandrians' (pp. 35–46 for examples from Greek predecessors). As in the use of this idiom (foreign to English) in modern Romance languages, the adjective with the definite article alone substitutes for the name of the person under discussion; i.e. the article plus ethnic substitutes for mention of the name, which need not have previously appeared. Thus we would not expect to find the name of Hesiod at the beginning of 15 (where it is allowed by  $\text{Ioc}$ ), nor Aeschylus' name, for example, at the beginning of 31. Conversely it is not necessary to have the ethnic of Aratus (since he is mentioned by name) in the missing portion of 23. The principle is well illustrated by Callim. *Epigr.* 27 Pf. quoted on 25–8 below: for the epigram,  $\delta$  *Coloib* alone suffices. Aratus' name itself appears independently in 4 lest there be any doubt which Solian is meant.

15–16  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ : sc. *σημεία*? If so,  $\nu\alpha[\nu\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  (or perhaps *ναυτιλία*) would pair or contrast relevantly with  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  *γεωργίας* (although the same star-signs might not be useful in both cases). Weather signs were primarily useful to farmers and mariners: this is implied by Vegetius 4.41.6 on signs from birds and fishes with reference to Vergil in the *Georgics* and Varro *in libris navalibus*; cf. Pindar *O.* 11: sometimes there's a need for rain [i.e. for farmers] and sometimes for wind [i.e. for sailors]. Only rarely are other professions mentioned: physicians (in the Hippocratic *Airs Waters Places*); millers (Aratus 10.44–6), and anglers (P. Mil. Vogl. viii 309 iv 20–9 = Posidippus *Epigr.* 23–4 A.-B.).

17  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ . Something similar in Achilles, *De universo* 1.9–11 Di Maria = p. 30.8–9 Maass on *Il.* 10. 252–3: *στρατιώτης νυκτομαχῶν τοῖς ἄστροις τὴν νύκτα μετρεῖ*.

17–18 Hes. *Op.* 383, quoted by  $\Sigma$  Arat. 264. For the Pleiades see on 19.

$\text{Ἀτλαίγεις}$  [ $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  with *IT*<sup>19</sup>, Dio Prus. 2. 9, Athen. 489 f.: *ἀτλαγενέων* all MSS, *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 12. 180, *Gemin. Elem. astr.* 17. 14,  $\Sigma$  Arat. 137, Prob. in *Verg. E.* 3. 40, *Et.* s.v. *πλειάδες*, Greg. Cor. p. 578 Sch., Tzetzes *Vit. Hes.* 1. 79 Colonna<sup>2</sup>, Eust. 1155. 49,  $\Sigma$  Aesch. *PV* 428: *ἀτληγενέων*  $\Sigma$  AD *Il.* 18. 486; cf. Max. Tyr. p. 294. 8 H.: [*IT*<sup>19</sup>].

18  $\text{I}\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ : *ἐπιτελλ-* all MSS, *IT*<sup>19</sup>,  $\Sigma$  Pr, Athen. 489 f., *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 12. 180, *Gemin. Elem. astr.* 17. 14,  $\Sigma$  Arat. 137, Prob. in *Verg. E.* 3. 40, *Et.* s.v. *πλειάδες*, Greg. Cor. p. 578 Sch., Tzetzes *Vit. Hes.* 1. 79 Colonna<sup>2</sup>: *περιτελλ-* Dio Prus. 2. 9, Max. Tyr. p. 294. 8 H.: [*IT*<sup>19</sup>]. Spacing at the beginning of the line admits *περιτελλ-* in the papyrus, but is not conclusive.

18–19  $\text{I}\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  — *δνομένων*. The point seems to be that Hesiod attached significance to what is seen at the setting of certain stars as well as at their rising (to which the Greeks attached most significance: M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) 379). Thus the beginning of the summary gives an example of stars he treated as significant in their observed rising (17 Pleiades), while 19 (*δνομένων*, also the Pleiades: *Op.* 384) refers to their setting. Similarly 20–2 may treat stars observed both at rising and setting, but this is not certain.

19 *δνομένων*. Hes. *Op.* 384, quoted by  $\Sigma$  Arat. 264. The papyrus here agrees with the reading of the quotation in  $\Sigma$  Arat. 264: *δνομένων IT*<sup>19</sup> and all MSS: *δνομένων* Dio Prus. 2. 9, Max. Tyr. p. 294. 8 H. The setting of the Pleiades is also mentioned in no less than three fragments of the Hesiodic *Ἀστρονομία*: fr. 288 *τὰς δὲ βροτοὶ καλέουσι Πελειάδες*, fr. 289 *χειμέριαι δύνουσι Πελειάδες* and 290 M.-W. *τῆμος ἀποκρύπτουσι Πελειάδες* — all three from Athen. xi 80 p. 491 d.

*ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμ[η]τον* glosses Hes. *Op.* 384 *ἀμήτου*.

19–20 *ἐπὶ τὸν ἄροτον* glosses Hes. *Op.* 384 *ἀρότιο*.

20 Perhaps *ὅτε Ὠρίων ἐστὶν τρυγ[η]*, or *ὅτε Ὠρίων, ἐστὶν τρυγ[η]*, 'When Orion (sc. is rising), it is the time of the grape-harvest'. But we could also have e.g. *τρυγ[η]ς μνηστέον* or *τρυγ[η]ν κλεύει* (Parsons). See Hes. *Op.* 609–17: 'When Orion and Sirius come into mid-heaven (i.e. in September), and rosy-fingered dawn sees Arcturus (cf. 22), then cut off all the grape-clusters, Perses, and bring them home. Show them to the sun ten days and ten nights: then cover them over for five, and on the sixth day draw off into vessels the gifts of joyful Dionysus. But when the Pleiades and Hyades and strong Orion begin to set (i.e. at the end of October), then remember to plough in season.' We ought then to expect a reference to Orion rising (marking the time of the grape-harvest), followed by a reference to his setting (marking the time of ploughing), or to the rising of Arcturus (see on 22) (marking the time for pruning).

22 *ἀκροκν[ε]φαιος*: 'rising at dusk'. The reference is to *Op.* 567 (the only occurrence in Hesiod) *πρώτον*

*παμφαίων ἐπιτέλλεται ἀκροκνέφαιος* of Arcturus rising in February-March, 60 days after the solstice, the acronychal rising (see West ad loc. and p. 379). According to *Op.* 570 this is the time to prune the vines, *οἶνα περιταμνόμεν*, but I cannot see how to get this out of the papyrus here.

23 *ὡς δὲ προεῖρηγάμεν, οὐ δὴ Ἄρατος*. Alternatively, we could articulate and restore a statement as follows: *καὶ τοῦ προ]ηκαμένου* (sc. *Ἡσιόδου*) *δὴ Ἄρατος κτλ.*, i.e. Aratus was an imitator of his predecessor Hesiod. That the author did in fact think Aratus an imitator of Hesiod seems the only possible explanation why he adduces the epigram of Callimachus that follows. Other reconstructions are possible (as a question): e.g. *καὶ ἄρα, ὡς εἶρηγάμεν* (or *ἐζητηγάμεν?*), *οὐ δὴ Ἄρατος κτλ.*;  
οὐ. sc. *Ἡσιόδου*.

23–4 *ζηλ[ωτῆς οὐκ ἀγ]εννης*: sc. *τοῦ Ἡσιόδου*. Aratus imitator of Hesiod. For the litotes *οὐκ ἀγεννης*, unexpectedly common in later Greek, see e.g. Plat. *Charm.* 158c. The author therefore cannot be Theon of Alexandria, author of the extant *Life* III (Martin) of Aratus, for he takes no note of Aratus' relationship to Homer or Hesiod. Nor can he be the Stoic philosopher Boëthius of Sidon who wrote a book *Περὶ Ἀράτου* now lost (cf. Geminus, *Isag.* 14, Cic. *De div.* 1. 8. 13,  $\Sigma$  Arat. 1091), since according to *Vit. Arati* II (12. 15–16 Martin) he argued in it that Aratus imitated Homer rather than Hesiod, whereas the author of the papyrus here quotes Callim. *Epigr.* 27. 1–3 Pf. in support of the view that Aratus emulated Hesiod. *Vit. Arati* II (loc. cit.) maintains that Aratus was an 'imitator of the Homeric style in his composition of words' (quoted below), noting that others claimed he was an imitator of Hesiod: they cited Hesiod's invocation of Zeus in the proem of *Op.* and his portrayal of the Golden Age and πολλοὺς ἄλλους μύθους as elements in common with Aratus demonstrating the latter's dependence. The *Life* then notes that the Stoic Boëthius, however, in his *Περὶ Ἀράτου* said that Aratus was a *ζηλωτῆς* of Homer rather than of Hesiod for the reason that 'the substance of his poetry was greater than in the case of Hesiod' (*πλάσμα τῆς ποιήσεως μείζον ἢ κατὰ Ἡσιόδου*). Boëthius' interest in making Homer's rather than Hesiod's poetry foundational for Aratus' poetry is explained in part by the philosophers' contention that all *artes* and *τέχναι* were prefigured in Homer (see Achilles, *De universo* 1.9–11 Di Maria = p. 30.8–9 Maass). There are vestiges of this view in the papyrus' quotations of Homer at 7–10. Callimachus' motive was altogether different: he makes Hesiod rather than Homer Aratus' model in order to align him with Alexandrian poetic fashion: small in scope, recherché in subject, refined in treatment. Cf. *Epigr.* 27. 3–4 *χαίρετε λεπταί / ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγροπνίης*, 'We praise these terse, subtle tokens of long effort at night' (S. Lombardo and D. Rayor, *Callimachus: Hymns, Epigrams, Select Fragments* (Baltimore 1988) 60). It refers to the genre and style of Aratus' poetry and not to its contents: according to other prose sources Aratus was versifying Eudoxus (Hipparchus 1.2.2 and *Vit. Arati* III, pp. 15.33–16.2 Martin; for Eudoxus' work on weather signs, cf. Gemin. *Eisagoge* 17.47–9 = Eudoxus fr. 139 Lasserre). The motive of the author of the papyrus text may be different still: he seems to cite Callimachus' epigram to substantiate his claim that (like Hesiod) Aratus subscribed to the value, reliability and application of astronomy. This could suggest a more limited scope and theme for the papyrus text, such as might be appropriate to a declamation than biography or science or philosophy proper. On the rhetorical element, see further on 29. On Aratus' debt to Hesiod, see also R. Hunter, 'Written in the stars: Poetry and philosophy in the *Phaenomena* of Aratus', *Arachnion* 2 (1995) 1–34 (esp. 2–4) at <http://www.cisi.unito.it/arachne/num2/hunter.html>; M. Fantuzzi, R. Hunter, *Muse e modelli* (Roma/Bari 2002) 302–22, 329–32; C. Fakas, *Der hellenistische Hesiod: Arats Phainomena und die Tradition der antiken Lehrtexnik* (Wiesbaden 2001).

The phrase *Ἄρατος ζηλ[ωτῆς οὐκ ἀγ]εννης ἐγένετο ὡς* is related verbally to the text of the ancient *Lives* of Aratus; it may well witness the text of the ancient exemplar from which they descend: *Vit. Arati* I 64–8 (Martin) *γένετο δὲ ὁ Ἄρατος ζηλωτῆς Ἡσιόδου, ὡς Καλλιμάχος παρεσημῆνατο τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράμματος οὕτως* [quotes Callim. *Epigr.* 27. 2–3 only] (cf. 7–8 where he quotes vv. 2–3 to invoke Callimachus' authority for the proposition that Aratus was from Soli, against Asclepiades of Myrlea who said that he was from Tarsus). Cf. *Vit. Arati* II 14–24 (Martin) *ζηλωτῆς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ χαρακτήρος κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπεῶν σύνθεσιν. ἐνιοὶ δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν Ἡσιόδου μάλλον ζηλωτὴν γεγονέναι. . . Βόηθος δὲ ὁ Σιδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησὶν οὐχ Ἡσιόδου αὐτὸν ζηλωτὴν, ἀλλ' Ὀμήρου γεγονέναι. τὸ γὰρ πλάσμα τῆς ποιήσεως μείζον ἢ κατὰ Ἡσιόδου; *Vit. Arati* IV 23–6 (Martin) [= *Comment. in Arat. rel.* p. 326. 13–14 Maass] *γηραιῶν δὲ τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐπεβάλετο, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιγράμματος* [sc. 27 Pf.] *ἠξιώθη. . . Ζηλωτὴν δὲ φασι τοῦτον γενέσθαι Ὀμήρου, οἱ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μάλλον. None of these calls Aratus οὐκ ἀγεννης* (as well as a *ζηλωτῆς*) of Hesiod, but *οὐκ ἀγεννης* sounds suspiciously like the corruption at *Vit. Arati**

III 35–6 (Martin) ὁ Καλλιμάχος συνεγγίζων αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους (τοῦ) “Ἀράτου † κύγγονος † ἀγρυννίης” τῆς τῶν Φαινομένων θεωρίας διὰ τὴν παρατήρησιν. The pairing of οὐκ ἀγεννής with ζηλωτής (as in the papyrus) in the introduction of this epigram in literature connected with Aratus might explain the corruption † κύγγονος † in the *Life*.

25 ]ον. The only uncertainty here is whether to restore at the beginning of the line Callimachus' name, Καλλιμαχ]ον, or, as Dr Gonis suggests, his ethnic Κυρηναί]ον.

25–8 Callim. *Epigr.* 27. 1–3 Pf. = 1.V1 G.–P. written as prose, variously quoted by the *Vitae Arati*:

Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶν  
ἔχρατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον  
τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Κολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί  
ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυννίης.

1 τό τ', ἀοιδῶν see below on 26      4 σύμβολον ἀγρυννίης Ruhnken, whence Pfeiffer: σύντονος ἀγρυννίη AP: κύγ-  
γονος ἀγρυννίης *Vit. Arati* 1 69 (Martin), Theon (= *Vit. Arati* II 35–6 Martin), whence κύγγονος ἀγρυννίης Scaliger (but see  
above on 23–4)

26 το, [ . ] ἄεισμα, τοδ' ἄεισμα AP 1X 507, Achilles *De Arati vita* 5 Di Maria (= *Vit.* 1 66 Martin): τό τ' Blomfield, whence Pfeiffer. Presumably the papyrus had either δ(ε) or τ(ε) with the epsilon elided before ἄεισμα. Elsewhere (19) the scribe writes *scriptio plena*, but he might be expected to elide thus in quotations of poetry (cf. on 27).

ἀοιδῶν, ν,]. So Scaliger conjectured, followed by Pfeiffer and some modern editors: ἀοιδῶν MSS AP 1X 507, Achilles *De Arati vita* 5 Di Maria (= *Vit.* 1 66 Martin), printed by various editors including A. S. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965) 171 (Callim. *Epigr.* 1.V1), G. R. Mair, *Callimachus: Hymns and Epigrams* (London 1921) 156, Merkelbach–West Test. ad Hes. *Astron.* (ed. maior p. 148), and A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995) 374 ff., and defended e.g. by G. Kaibel, *Hermes* 29 (1894) 120, as meaning 'he may not be the consummate poet, but . . .'. However, the word-order is odd, and the accusative is left without a controlling verb. The papyrus' reading ἀοιδῶν, ν, is unique among the witnesses, of which this is the first ancient attestation.

26–7 τὸν ἀοιδῶν, ν, / ἔχρατον. The antecedent of τὸν ἔχρατον must be τρόπος, which is proximate (ἄεισμα and ἔπος are excluded by their gender, and understanding a word like τρίχος is difficult if not impossible). Thus: 'the ultimate mode'. ἀοιδῶν nested in this way may mean 'belonging to poets', 'that poets can have' (alternatively, however, Professor R. Hunter suggests to us that ἀοιδῶν is from ἀοιδή rather than ἀοιδός: 'that poems can have'), i.e. Epic (cf. Lombardo and Rayor, op. cit. p. 60, who render τὸν ἀοιδῶν / ἔχρατον as 'the ultimate Epic') or at any rate something grander (and more pompous and pretentious) than Hesiod's didactic *Op.* The commentator clearly understood this to refer to Homer's large-scale epic poetry, for it stands in contrast to Aratus' alleged imitation of Hesiod's subtle and refined style and erudite subject-matter and didactic presentation, over against the view that Aratus imitated Homer as the teacher of all things.

In Callimachus' epigram, however, τὸ μελιχρότατον / τῶν ἐπέων involves an ironic and more complicated pun: Aratus used as a model the best of Hesiod's ἔπη, i.e. from his didactic *Works and Days*. These were hexameter verses (one sense of ἔπη), though they were not from an epic poem on the scale of Homer's (another connotation of ἔπη), as 1–2 οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶν / ἔχρατον points out. (Cameron, op. cit., queries whether ἔχρατοι can mean 'ultimate' in a good sense.)

The poetry of Aratus referred to in Callimachus' epigram is generally taken to be the *Phaenomena* (according to the *Vitae* he wrote numerous other poems). It is sometimes doubted what work of Hesiod Callimachus had in mind. Merkelbach–West take it to be the Hesiodic *Astronomia*, an eccentric choice, and so print the epigram (with the reading ἀοιδῶν of the MSS) as a testimonium to the fragments of that poem (*Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford 1967, p. 148). However, the fact that the quotation of Callimachus, *Epigr.* 27 follows directly on from the quotation at 17–19 above of Hes. *Op.* 383 ff. and its discussion seems to show that the author of the present text at any rate took it to refer to the *Days* portion of the *Works and Days*, especially 383–end, with its very rich use of star-signs as indicators of the seasons and calendar. On the other hand, he may not have given the epigram's implications much thought, apart from its link between Hesiod and Aratus.

ἔχρατον ἀλλ', ὀκνέω. It is not certain that the final α of ἀλλά was elided here: in 19 (δὲ ἐπὶ) *scriptio plena* is written. However, elision might be expected in quotations of poetry. That he did so here (and also in 26, where

see note) is suggested by space, judged from the supplements in 25 and 28, which seem certain and require 7–8 letters to fill the lacuna.

28 ὁ Κολεὺς. Cf. on 15. After ἀπεμάξατο, AP 1X 507 and Achilles *De Arati vita* 5 Di Maria (= *Vit.* 1 66 Martin) go on here to give the remaining lines 3–4 of Callimachus, *Epigr.* 27 Pf. χαίρετε λεπταί / ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυννίης, whereas the author of the papyrus text omits them. Apparently Callimachus' pun in ἀγρυννίης (necded by Aratus as much for observation of the stars as for the studied polish of his style) was lost on him. Cf. the quotation of Aesch. *Agam.* 4–6 abbreviated at 31–3.

29 ῥήσιων suits the space better than e.g. παροιμίαν, but φράσιων or γνώμην e.g. might have stood here.

δικαίως ἂν τις εἴποι: parenthetical.

εἴποι. The optative is literary and rhetorical, as are the expression μὴ γ[νώσεως τοῦ]των ὀρφανῆν and the author's practice of citing authorities alternatively by their names and civic ethnics in *variatio*.

30 τοῦ]των: sc. the star signs discussed above; there will not be sufficient space for τοιοῦ]των; but εἰδῶ]των or μαθη]τῶν ('benefit of hearers') might be considered.

ὀρφανῆν: sc. ῥήσιων (restored in 29), i.e. the statement that follows. For ὀρφανῆν in the metaphorical sense see LSJ s.v. II 2, citing Plato, *Alc.* II 147a ὀρφανὸς ὢν ταύτης τῆς ἐπιτημῆς; Herod. 3. 38 ὀρφανὴ βίου; in verse: Pi. I. 4. 26 ὀρφανοὶ ὄβριος; Diosc. AP 12. 42 ὀρφανὸς ἀγκίστρον κάλαμος. A grammarian or commentator would hardly introduce a quotation in this way, suggestive of the style of a ῥήτωρ or σοφιστής writing in a declamatory mode rather than a philosopher or grammarian compiling notes in the form of a ὑπόμνημα.

ὁ Ἐλευσίνιος: viz. Aeschylus. See on 15.

31–3 Aesch., *Agam.* 4–5, quoted by Achilles, *De universo* 1,1–2 Di Maria (= p. 28,14–16 Maass).

32–3 θέροσ, on grounds of space, with MSS Aesch. M V G (θέρος βροτοῖς): βροτοῖς θέρος F G Tr. The papyrus is now the earliest witness for this order.

33 Before οδε there is left unscripted blank space of at least one letter. We might have expected the author to complete the quotation of the line with βροτοῖς, and also to quote the following line λαμπροῦς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι in order to fully illustrate his point: so Achilles, *De universo* 1,1–2 Di Maria (= p. 28,13–16 Maass), quotes all three lines in full (see below). In spite of his rhetorical introduction of the quotation of Aeschylus at 28–30, the author abbreviates the quotation of Aeschylus here, as indeed he did that of Callim. *Epigr.* 27 Pf. at 25–8, of which he quotes not quite three out of its four lines.

Σοφοκλέους Ναύπλιος. Probably *Nauplius* TGrF IV 432, quoted by Achilles, *De universo* 1,1–2 Di Maria (= p. 28,1–11 Maass). At line-end we might restore e.g. γα[ντικά (cf. 15–16) sc. σημεία or some other word having to do with sailors or sailing and dependence upon star-signs. Achilles, *De universo* 1,1–2 Di Maria (= p. 28,12–16 Maass), immediately after quoting *Agam.* 4–6, continues with the quotation of an unknown play of Sophocles: Σοφοκλῆς δὲ εἰς Ἀτρεΐα τὴν εὐρεῖαν ἀναφέρει λέγων: “κἀνταῦθα (. . .) / πᾶς προσκυνεῖ δὲ τὸν στρέφοντα κύκλον ἡλίου” (TGrF IV 738). It is tempting to think that this quotation from Sophocles was the one that stood here in the present text. However, Achilles (loc. cit.) has just finished quoting another fragment of Sophocles to the same end, the long speech from his *Nauplius*: Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Παλαμήδει ἀνατίθηναι· λέγοντα γὰρ Ναύπλιον εἰσάγει [quotes Soph. *Naupl.* TGrF IV 432]. Since Achilles introduces the quotation by saying that Nauplius himself actually speaks these words, and given the traces γα[ in 33, it is reasonable to restore this line as ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλέους Ναύπλιος (e.g. φησὶν) followed by TGrF IV 432, spoken by that character. In Achilles, this quotation extends to a full eleven iambic lines, in which Nauplius expatiates on the value of star-signs. Given the author's observed tendency to abbreviate quotations elsewhere in the fragment, it seems perhaps doubtful that he would have quoted the passage in full (although he may have abbreviated it, as he does elsewhere: see above on 33). Cf. Maass, *Commentariorum*, p. 650 s.v. Sophocles.



four strokes. In 4 the tongue of ε protrudes beyond its body, but does not quite connect with the following κ.

The type of text is uncertain, but it contained other mythological entities (see 1) in addition to those of *Theog.* 218–19. One possibility is a commentary or prose discussion of Hesiod, with his mythology or eschatology as a topic. An anthology of excerpts such as that at Stob. *Ecl.* 1.5.5 (who quotes *Theog.* 217–19) is not to be ruled out, but I have not succeeded in identifying other quotations in the surrounding lines here. One could construct a fantasy around an account of the afterlife, with Kerber-, 4 ν]εκρω- and the Fates, even Styx (see on 7). However, a prose text is less likely to have quoted verses colometrically, and the possibility remains that the lines are verses recycling bits of Hesiodic poetry.

	] Κερβε[ρ-	<i>Theog.</i> 311?
	]οκατ[	
	]ον με[	
	]εκρω [	
5	]κατοτο[	
	]ν υπαρ[	
	]μμε [	
	Κλ]ωθω δ[ε	<i>Theog.</i> 218?
	γει]νομε[νοισι	<i>Theog.</i> 219?
10	]νεικ [	
	]ομολ[	
	]αιτον[	
	]υχ[	
	]σιςυν[	
15	] [	
	]θ[ε[	
	]ο [	
	]α [	
	] . . . . [	
20	] . . [	
	] . . [	

1 Κ: diagonal descending from mid-level to lower right, with a more upright stroke rising to the top-line from the same point, η (not otherwise exemplified in this hand) suggested; κ could be read, assuming both upper and lower legs at angles closer to the vertical than in 2; or β, assuming a less full bottom and no horizontal stroke at base-line as in the exemplified β later in the line 4 . . . . . [ . . . . . ]: points of ink low in the line at left and right, compatible

with α, λ, χ 5 ]κατοτο[: in both cases the left half of the tops of τ is missing, and τ could be read, but spacing favours τ 6 ρ[: with tail curving forward, below the line, otherwise ε 7 ]: end of horizontal at mid-level, as ε 8 ]: upright, ι, η, κ 9 ]: α or λ 10 ]: end of high horizontal, τ? 11 ]: high horizontal resting on and over-reaching an upright: η or π? 12 ]: the first is a horizontal at mid-level and the foot of an upright, η suggested; the second appears to be an upright followed by a low rounded curve like the saddle of μ, perhaps with a connection stroke to the χ. But I would not rule out ψ. 13 ]: a high horizontal at mid-level; the remainder of the line is completely abraded 14 ]: before θε a high horizontal followed by a negligible trace at level of the line (not εκ) 15 ]: 16 before θε a high horizontal followed by a negligible trace at level of the line (not εκ) 17–21 are badly abraded with only occasionally discernible traces

Above 1 there is sufficient space to observe ink if there had been another line above. Therefore we appear to have the top margin.

1 Κερβε[ρ-: The first letter not certain: also possible is βερβε[, e.g. βερβε[ριζ-, a later synonym of βατταριζων, 'stammer' or 'stutter', according to *Etymologicum Magnum* 191.35 Gaisford, which might be relevant in a discussion of e.g. the origin of divine names. Cerberus appears in Hesiod only at *Theog.* 311:

Κέρβερων ἀμηστῆν, Ἴδιδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον

some part of which may have appeared here, possibly with commentary following. If so, the beginning of the next verse in Hesiod (312 πεντηκοντακέφαλον) shows that the quotation did not continue beyond this verse. If 8–9 below preserve the first word in the line (which is not certain), the expected leftward drift of the column allows that Κερβε[ρ- could have begun the line here. However, it is odd that comment on 311 should have preceded that on 218–19, which appear to be quoted at 8–9 below. Therefore one or the other may have been material from Hesiod quoted as part of the discussion of the other, or we could have non-commentary mythographic discussion with *Theog.* 218–19 quoted as part of it. Arguing in favour of a commentary of some sort is the possibility (allowed by layout in the papyrus) that the words there stand at the beginning of their verses, and so seem to show line-beginnings here.

7 ]μμε[: The letters and traces are compatible with ]ἐμμεν[αι as e.g. at *Theog.* 400 (of Styx) ἀτῆν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἐμμεναι ὄρκον. However, that verse could only have stood here if it were quoted as prose, against the apparent precedent of 218–19 below; i.e., if it was quoted in whole or part here, it did not stand in alignment with *Theog.* 218–19 apparently quoted in 8–9 (similar difficulties with the position of ἐμμεναι in Hes. fr. 235.2 and 323 M.–W.). At *Op.* 272 ἐμμεναι and at *Theog.* 610 ἐμμενέε stand at initial position in their verses, and could be so aligned here, but in both the words are followed by a syntactical break, and it is not easy to see why either verse would be quoted in the context, such as it is.

8–9 Alignment of letters one above the other suggests that we have Hesiod, *Theog.* 218–19 written colometrically (with δέ for τε in 218):

Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἳ τε βροτοῖσι  
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.

These verses are omitted by Stob. 1.3.38 (who quotes *Theog.* 217–22) and are often excised as spurious by editors, but are present in *Π<sup>a</sup>* (P. Lond. Lit. 33), *σ*, and codd. Δ ε of Stobaeus at 1.5.5 (a quotation of 217–19). They are repeated with some variance at 905–6 (where 906 fails to correspond with line 9 in the papyrus):

Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἳ τε διδοῦσι  
θηητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.

*Scut.* 258, in a passage (258–63) often regarded as a later addition, begins with Κλωθώ but continues καὶ Λάχεσίν εφιν ἐφέστασαν. The scholia offer nothing on vv. 218–19. *Theog.* 218 Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον is quoted by Σ Pi. O. 7.118, but the comment there has no correspondence with the surrounding letters in the papyrus text. If *Theog.* 218–19 were quoted here, followed by prose commentary, we might have expected them to have stood in ekthesis as a lemma. It is not easy to see how discussion of Cerberus could be immediately related to that of Clotho: perhaps as descendants from the earliest generation of gods? Or mythological entities connected with death?

8 δ[ε: τε Π<sup>4</sup> a b k S B R Q

9 Or γι]νομε[νοισι, with MSS of Stobaeus?

D. OBBINK

4651. PROSE QUOTING HESIOD, *OPERA ET DIES* 219–23

68 6B.25/E(1–2)(a)

2.2 × 4.8 cm.

Third century  
Plate VI

Scrap with beginnings of nine lines written along the fibres in a good small hand reminiscent of the Formal mixed type but with much connection (note especially 3 λι, 4 θρ and 5 δω, all reminiscent of documentary hands), and sloping to the right. Two different forms of α are written, one angular (e.g. 2, 3, 5) and another with rounded bowl (8). There are no surviving lectional signs or punctuation, and no opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written. The back is blank.

Beginning in the middle of line 2 *Op.* 219–23 are written as prose, i.e. without observing verse colometry. (Colometric divisions, not marked in the papyrus text, are indicated by slashes (/) in the text below.) Apparently a quotation here, the lines after 2 are not marked as such by being written in ekthesis. But the first letter of the first word quoted (2 α[υτικα = *Op.* 219) appears enlarged and is preceded by an unscripted letter-space.

The quotation of Hesiod in 2–7 overlaps with Π<sup>8</sup> (P. Gen. inv. 94).

μην . . . [ . . . ]  
 γο . . . α[υτικα γαρ τρεχει Ορκος α *Op.* 219–?223  
 μα σκολιη[ις δικησι / της δε Δικης  
 ροθος ελκο[μενης ηι κ ανδρες αγωσι /  
 5 δωροφαγ[οι σκολιης δε δικησι κρι  
 νωσι θε[μιστας / η δ επεται κλαιου  
 κα] πολιν [και ηθεα λαων / ηερα εσσα  
 με]νη κα[κον ανθρωποισι φερουσα /  
 α.4 ] . . . [ . . . ]

2 not ε[ι]γγω (*Op.* 218). The letter before α is perhaps η.

3 (= *Op.* 219) The writer seems to have first written σκα-, perhaps just a slip, which he then corrected to σκο-. But for the letter shape cf. the form of α (with rounded bowl) in 8. *Op.* 220–1 are quoted by *Etymologicum Genuinum* s.v. ῥόθος.

4 (= *Op.* 220) ηι: sc. ἦ, with Π<sup>8</sup> Proclus ο: ἦν Et. Gen. cod. A: α<sup>l</sup> Fick. The reading of the papyrus here is unknown.

5 (= *Op.* 221) δωροφαγ[οι: βασιλείς are δωροφάγοι, οἱ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικάσαι at *Op.* 39, and also at 264

δωροφάγοι, σκολιέων δὲ δικέων ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεσθε. *Op.* 219–24 might have been quoted as part of a commentary on one or another of those occurrences of δωροφάγος, or from e.g. a treatise on kingship. Alternatively, one might think of the passage quoted as the major lemma to a commentary on either of these lines.

7 (= *Op.* 222) [και: with ο on grounds of space: τε και Tr.

7–8 *Op.* 223 was condemned by Hetzel, *De carminibus Hesiodi* (1860), and by P. Mazon, *REA* 14 (1912) 342 n. 1, on account of the confusion of images, while West ad loc. argues that it is necessary to the sense because of the mention of punishment and 'because 224 refers to the magistrates, whereas the λαοί of 222 are the whole population affected by their conduct'. The papyrus attests a text of *Op.* in which vv. 7–8 were present.

9 The surface is badly abraded, but there appear to be traces of more than stray ink: perhaps εγγ, e.g. γ[εγγ]εται. This, however, is difficult to reconcile with the beginning of the next verse (224) οἱ τέ μιν ἐξελάσσει (or -άσει or -άουσι or -άωσι) in the text of Hesiod (the papyrus may have had room for οἱ at the end of 8). To reach a sense-break the quotation would need to continue to the end of this verse (καὶ οὐκ ἰθεὶαν ἐνεμῶν).

After this line there is about a line's width of blank space on the papyrus, but it is not possible to tell whether another line of writing, now worn away, stood here or rather the bottom margin.

D. OBBINK

4652. GLOSSARY TO HESIOD, *SCUTUM* 243, 245, 308, 387(?), 389

95/68(a)

15 × 5.6 cm

Fifth century  
Plates II, III

A parchment bifolium, preserving in brown ink the final five lines from the bottom of a column on two pairs of successive pages. The parchment is ruled along the lines of writing and up and down at left and right margins with a sharp, possibly inked, stylus. The fourth page is ruled but was possibly not written. There are binding holes visible along the center-fold. Written as lemmata in ekthesis are words from the Hesiodic *Scutum* followed by glosses. The lemmata are separated from their paraphrases by a midpoint (sometimes dicolon) and space of 1–2 letters. Individual glosses are closed by a dicolon, after which the remainder of line is left blank (in fol. 3,4). The list of glosses is written in exceedingly narrow columns consisting of short lines of 13–14 letters (from point of ekthesis as bounded by the vertical guide lines: see fol. 3,3 and 5). Ekthesis 0.35 cm (c.1 letter). Given the narrow width of columns (5.45 cm) and the fact that 63 lines of the poem must have been covered in the single column between fol. 1 and 2 if the codex had only one column per page, it is reasonable to conclude that there were at least two columns per page. Thus between fol. 1 col. i (inside column) and fol. 2 col. ii (inside column) there will have been at least 2 columns (plus the remainder of a third) covering 60 verses (*Scut.* 246–307); and between fol. 2 col. ii (inside column) and fol. 3 col. i (inside column) at least one bifolium (8 columns), in which 80 verses were covered (*Scut.* 309–87). Between fol. 3 col. i (inside column) and fol. 4 (inside column) there will have been 2 columns (plus the remainder of a third). The final column was not written (see note), at any rate in its final 5 lines as preserved. If the glossary ended before this point, 90 verses of the poem (*Scut.* 390–480) would have had to be covered in this intervening space in order to reach the the point (v. 480) at which it ends (with Ceyx) in the medieval MSS. The possibility remains that the glosses to *Scutum* were preceded in



the codex by glosses of similar type to Hesiod's *Theogonia* and *Opera et dies*, since these three works are known to have circulated together in the same codex at this date: so Π<sup>3</sup> (fourth-century papyrus codex), Π<sup>5</sup> (fourth century parchment codex), and already Π<sup>19</sup> (first century papyrus roll); M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) 75–8.

The glossary is written in an upright formal majuscule of the 'biblical' type, characterised by heavy shading in vertical strokes and hairline horizontals (angle of writing sometimes about 25 degrees, sometimes close to horizontal), suitable for the fifth century: for a comparable script see P. Berol. 16353 (*GBEBP* 24b, LXX Genesis), late fifth century (assigned). The present script shows some affinities with the later version in which the angle of writing is zero and horizontal strokes are written so threadlike as to disappear completely, e.g. P. Berol. 6794 (*GBEBP* 25a, H. II. XXI and XXII) fifth/sixth century (assigned). The present script retains some of the fluid simplicity associated with the earlier examples, and horizontal strokes of Δ and Π are not yet drawn out and decorated with knobs as in the later versions: cf. XIII 1621 (pl. V; *GBEBP* 13b, Speeches from Thucydides Book II) of the second half of the fourth century (not later than cursive corrections datable to 340–370). The present script, however, shows less balance in thickness of strokes. μ in four strokes to mid-level (not deep, as in *GBEBP* 24b). The writing is bilinear except for ρ, τ, γ, and notably χ. Note vertical decorative strokes on the beginning but not end of cross-bar of τ, finials on top of upright of κ, but otherwise little decoration.

The simplicity of the glosses, mere paraphrase or single-word equivalents, suggests a rather elementary glossary, in the nature of a word-list as a reader's aid: e.g. fol. 2 col. i (hair side), 4–5. A number of the glosses appear to comment on what can only be erroneously transmitted readings as lemmata: fol. 1 col. i (flesh side), 2, 4–5(?).

In some cases there is a direct connection with the surviving medieval scholia, ed. C. F. Ranke, *Hesiodi quod fertur Scutum Herculis* (Quedlinburgi et Lipsiae 1840), which prints line-by-line scholia and a paraphrase. In some cases these suggest possibilities of reconstruction, as noted below. On the ancient tradition of scholia to *Scut.* see C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, 2nd ed. (Florence 1965) 52–7. It is difficult to see how 'old scholia' should be distinguished from Byzantine ones, apart from those with names of ancient scholars attached to them or which have close parallels in ancient *etymologica* (R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologica* (Leipzig 1897) 47 and 50 n. 1). 4652 provides some additional comparanda.

Collation of readings of the glosses from text of *Scut.* has been with the editions of C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, 2nd ed. (Florence 1965) and the OCT edition of F. Solmsen, *Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum* (Oxford 1970). Lemmata from the text of the poem, indicated by ekthesis and diacriticals in the parchment, are printed in bold type.

fol. 1 col. i (flesh side, inside column)

[  
βωω κατ[- c.6–8 (243)

ναι δε η[ c.6  
γῆραι τε μεμ[αρ- (245)  
5 πον: μεμα[ρ- c.4

fol. 2 col. i (hair side, inside column)

[υπο  
c.6 ]σαντες: (308?)  
c.6 ] . . : εψοφο.υ  
επικ]ροτεοντα: ε- (308)  
5 πι]κροτουντα:

fol. 3, col. i (hair side, inside column)

[  
εχων . [ c.7 (387?)  
δοχμωθεις: πλ[α- 2–3 (389)  
γιασας: vac.  
5 μαστιχοωντι: τρι (389)

fol. 4, col. 2 (flesh side, inside column)

].  
(lines 2–5 ruled but not written)

fol. 1 col. i (flesh side, inside column)

1 [ : Base of an upright, as of ι, γ in ekthesis detruding from the line above 2.  
2 βωω κατ[-: βόων b S B A J F Z R, sc. *Scut.* 243 χαλκείων ὀξὺ βόων, κατὰ δ' ἐδρύπτοντο παρείας. This appears to be a lemma or part of one begun in the line above (thus both in ekthesis). Above ω there is no stroke of abbreviation of final -ν visible; presumably we should correct to βόων(ν) with the MSS. If κατ- is part of the lemma (there is no dicolon before it), then space would allow no more than κατ[ὰ δ', since we have to allow for the beginning of the word which ends -ναι in the next line. Yet it seems extraordinary to break the sense at that point in the tmesis. Perhaps κατ[ should be taken as beginning the gloss (assuming omission of dicolon). If so, κατ[c. 4–6 -με]ναι δέ η[. To judge from Σ and Paraphr. one might expect explanation of ἐυδήτων, χαλκείων, βόων, ἐδρύπτοντο. If βόων is the lemma, one might think of e.g. κατ[ακραγόμε]ναι. Hesych. i 332 Latte s.v. βοῶ gives κραυγάζει.

4 γῆραι τε (i.e. γῆρα τε?): γῆρα τε B: γῆρας τε b S A J F Z R (and printed by Solmsen). Σ p. 34 Ranke τὸ γῆρας κατέλαβον. γρ. γῆρα τε μέμαρται (M: μεμάραται A), ἥγον μεμάρανται ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρας suggests that the dative read in the text-lemma may have originated from an explanatory gloss.

4–5 μεμ[αρ]πον: with J R L S Σ<sup>Z</sup>: μεμαρπεν F (printed by Solmsen): -πτεν Σ: -πτων B: -πτων ΣΣ<sup>Z</sup>. As in the scholia, the gloss may have been μεμά[ρανται] (spacc?) and may have gone on to explain γῆρα by ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρας or the like (cf. Hesych. ii 630 Latte s.v. μάρπτεν κατελάμβανε, συνελάμβανε). But, unlike Σ, the text

presupposed by the glossary took 'the men' (ἄνδρες) to continue as subject (not object) of the verb and 'old age' to be (indirect) object, not subject. With the text-lemma γήρα we should have expected the continuation μεμάρανται, not μέμαρπον.

fol. 2 col. i (hair side, inside column)

2 ]σαντες should relate to *Scut.* 308 (beginning) ῥυτὰ χαλαίνοντες: Σ p. 36 Ranke τὰ χαλινὰ χαλάσαντες, which might be restored in the parchment.

3 ] . . . : base of upright, followed by two diagonals as legs of λ, λ, x connecting to upright at lower right, so that N could also be read. In one way, one would think of 309 (end) and read ἀύτε]υγ: followed by gloss ἐφόφουγ (after φ there is a rounded letter, and then a diagonal connecting to an upright at bottom; between them is possibly the vestige of an upright compatible with γ if the writing is compressed at line-end). But that would mean that the glosses were in the wrong order. *Etymologicum Magnum* 171.28 Gaisford has ἀύτε: ἐφώνησε, προσεκαλείτο. Hesych. i 283 Latte s.v. ἀύτευγ gives ἐφώνουγ, ἐβόουγ.

4-5 επικ]ροτεοντα: ε[πι]κροτοοντα: The gloss consists of the simple contracted form, complete in itself (as shown by the diacriticals), which suggests a rather elementary set of explanations.

fol. 3, col. i (hair side, inside column)

1 ] . . . : Nose of λ or left leg of λ, x, not obviously in ekthesis.

2 εχων . . . : This should be part of the explanation of *Scut.* 387 χαυλιόδων: Paraphr. p. 64 Ranke . . . κεχαλασμένους ἔχων τοὺς ὀδόντας, which could be partly read and partly restored here: after εχων there are exiguous traces on the edge at the level of the base-line: perhaps bottom of upright in centre of full letter-space suitable for τ, followed possibly by a trace of ink at the base-line in the centre of the letter-space. So also Hesych. iv 276 Schmidt s.v. χαυλιόδοντα: τὸν ἐπικεχαλασμένους ἔχοντα τοὺς ὀδόντας ἔξω τῶν ἄλλων ὀδόντων καὶ τοῦ στόματος. οἱ δὲ ἀμφόδοντας.

3-4 πλ[α]γιασας (i.e. πλ[α]γιασας). π consists of bases of two uprights. The following trace is the foot of an upright or diagonal descending slightly below the baseline, ρ suggested, but λ not excluded, so that πλ[α] may be read. This relates to *Scut.* 389 δοχμοθεῖς: Σ give no explanation of 389, but Paraphr. p. 64 Ranke gives δοχμοθεῖς καὶ πλαγίως στραφεῖς and in other scholia (see p. 269 Ranke) δόχμια is glossed as πλάγια: *Etymologicum Magnum* 285. 13 Gaisford, for example, has δόχμιος: ὁ πλάγιος. Hesych. i 475 Latte s.v. δόχμια gives πλάγια, λοξά, κεκαμμένα.

5 A completely preserved line (at 15 letters), giving lemma and beginning of gloss for 389 μαστιχόωντι. But τρι (or possibly πι, but the second upright descends below the base-line) remains deeply mysterious. One is left only to guess at corruptions of e.g. πρι[οντι] (which would at least suit the sense), πτυ[οντι] (as in Paraphr. p. 64 Ranke ἀφρὸς δὲ περὶ τὸ στόμα στάζεται αὐτῷ κινούντι τὸ αὐτοῦ στόμα δίκην ἀνθρώπου μασσωμένου καὶ συχνῶς πτύοντος on *Scut.* 389 ἀφρὸς δὲ περὶ στόμα μαστιχόωντι), or τυπ[τοντι]: cf. Hesych. ii 632 Latte s.v. μαστίλει: πληγαῖς τύπτει.

fol. 4, col. 2 (flesh side, inside column)

Apart from the possible trace of the foot of an upright at the end of line 1, only linings (both horizontal and vertical) are visible. This remainder of the space (bottom of a column like the other folia) does not seem to have ever been written; there is no indication that writing has faded or been washed away. In the intervening space between fol. 3 col. i (inside column) and fol. 4 (inside column) consisting of at least 2 columns (plus the remainder of a third), 90 verses of the poem (*Scut.* 390-480) must have been covered in order to reach the point (v. 480) at which it ends (with Ceyx) in the medieval MSS. This would be less space devoted to the poem than elsewhere in the glossary (see introduction); perhaps the text of *Scut.* used for the glossary ended before v. 480, or the glosses did not continue to the point at which *Scut.* ends in the medieval MSS. At any rate, the text of *Scut.* glossed by the parchment does not seem to have continued on past v. 480, the end of *Scut.* in the MSS to have included explanations of words from possible continuations of the poem such as the *Marriage of Ceyx* or other *Ehoiai*.

D. OBBINK

## II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

4653-4666. HESIOD, *THEOGONIA*, *OPERA ET DIES*, *SCUTUM*

Under these numbers we give the remainder of the papyri of Hesiod's *Theogonia*, *Opera et dies*, and the Hesiodic *Scutum* identified thus far in the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society (cf. XXXII 2638-51, XLV 3220-32 among others). These papyri have not been used previously in collation or constitution of critical editions of Hesiod. Here and there they supply now better and now worse readings than the medieval tradition, some of the expected variants as well as some new ones, together with some viable but not certainly correct readings. In some crucial passages they give no help, or add new errors. Their most important contributions are the omission (in 4660) of *Op.* 93 and 99, the first in agreement with one group of medieval MSS, the second likewise omitted by Plutarch. The same papyrus adds a unique variant at *Op.* 100, but includes without further notice 104, condemned by some ancient critics according to the Scholia vetera. 4661 includes *Op.* 563, athetized by Plutarch in his commentary and not represented in the Scholia vetera. 4656 gives a correct orthography in *Theog.* 675 against most of the medieval tradition, while 4664 in *Scut.* 93 and 4665 in 222 give a correct reading, siding with the same side of the medieval tradition (B J F Z) against another (b S). Not surprisingly, they include a number of verses suspected by modern editors, including *Theog.* 564, 744-5, and 826-9 (the last in the order of the medieval MSS against that of a previously published papyrus). At the same time, 4666 omits *Scut.* 259, often suspected (together with its surrounding verses) by editors.

Among the new items, a second-century papyrus roll (4659) gives the first column and the earliest preserved portion of *Op.* (no papyrus yet preserves its opening verses). 4663 preserves the first end-title of *Op.* from a papyrus roll. 4655 and 4660 are from manuscripts of Hesiod of relatively early date as papyri of Hesiod go, and for Oxyrhynchus (first century BC-first century AD), while 4656 and 4664 are not much later. 4654 and 4660-1 preserve parts of *Theog.* and *Op.* not previously attested on papyri (cf. 4650 8-9); none of the verses covered by the three new papyri of *Scut.* (4664-6) were known previously on papyri. 4653 forms part of a papyrus roll containing *Theog.* already published (XXXII 2648). 4666 is another copy of *Scut.* written by the same scribe who produced PSI IX 1087. Several overlap with previously published papyri (4653, 4655-7, 4662; cf. 4648 17, 19, 4649 ii; 4651), offering an opportunity for collation of ancient witnesses. Some (4653, 4655, 4657, 4659-60, 4662, and 4664) provide examples of accented MSS of the poems. 4659-60 employ critical signs in the margin to mark the point of insertion of omitted verses. 4659 adds a new example of the use of marginal περιγραφαί to signal trouble or mark deletion. Cf. 4648-51 above, which preserve prose quotations of *Theog.* and *Op.*, augmenting the body of ancient citations of Hesiod, as do the lemmata of 4652, the first ancient MS (fifth century) of scholia to *Scut.*

All of the new items are papyrus rolls, dating from the first century BC to the third century AD. At least some of these may have contained more than one poem of Hesiod's (although no further identities with published fragments have been discovered). This seems likely in particular with the fragments of *Scut.*, complete in the medieval MSS in only 480 verses. By the fourth–fifth centuries it is common enough for the three poems (*Theog.*, *Op.*, and *Scut.*) to circulate in the same codex: so  $\Pi^3$  and  $\Pi^5$ , while already  $\Pi^{19}$ , a first-century opisthograph papyrus roll, contained these three poems and possibly also the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) 75–8). The relation (both in composition and transmission) of the *Catalogue* to *Scut.* (which begins in  $\Pi^5$  and the medieval MSS with the *Ehoia* of Alcmena; cf. XXIII 2355 + XXVIII 2494A = *Cat.* fr. 195 M.–W.) is discussed by M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985) 70 n. 93, 136, and by P. Dräger, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenkatalogen Hesiods*, Palingenesia 61 (Stuttgart 1997).

Collation has been with, and missing portions of text supplied exempli gratia (for the purpose of illustrating spacing and format, wherever space and readings from the papyrus do not tell against the printed text) from, the following editions: for *Theog.*: the OCT edition of F. Solmsen, *Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum* (Oxford 1970); for *Op.*: M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford 1978); for *Scut.*: the edition of Solmsen (cit.). The critical sigla used for the reporting of medieval witnesses in these editions have been adopted. In restored portions of the text, subscript iotas in the modern editions have been replaced with adscript ones, except in papyri where it is known to be the scribe's convention to omit them, in which cases the modern editors' iota subscripts have been eliminated. Missing left-hand portions of columns have been supplied as illustrative of spacing wherever it can be estimated to coincide with the layout of the remains as preserved, but not missing right-hand portions, where spacing can be less closely estimated.

For published papyri of these works see the on-line edition of the catalogue of Mertens–Pack<sup>3</sup> at <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/MP3/fexp.shtml>, and the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* at <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>. For reporting these we have used the system of numbering begun by Jacoby in his edition of *Theog.* and continued in those of West and Solmsen; subsequently published papyri are reported by standard conventions.

For reports of readings from medieval MSS we have also made use of the following editions: for *Theog.*, *Op.*, and *Scut.*: G. F. Schoemann, *Hesiodi quae feruntur carminum reliquiae* (Berlin 1869), F. A. Paley, *The Epics of Hesiod* (London 1883), A. Rzach, *Hesiodi Carmina*, ed. maior (Leipzig 1902) and 3rd ed. min. (Leipzig 1913), and F. Solmsen (cit.); for *Theog.*: W. Aly, *Hesiods Theogonie* (Heidelberg 1913), F. Jacoby, *Hesiodi Theogonia* (Berlin 1930), and M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966); for *Op.*: T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (London 1932), A. Colonna, *Hesiodi Opera et Dies* (Milan 1968), and Solmsen (cit.); for *Scut.*: C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, 2nd ed. (Florence 1965). Reference to the fragments of the *Catalogue* is to the editio maior of R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967), supplemented by the 3rd abridged edition of their editio minor included in the 1990 reprint of Solmsen's OCT edition of Hesiod.

For a survey of ancient and medieval scholarship on Hesiod, see West's introd. to *Hesiod: Works and Days* (cit.) 63–71 plus bibliography on p. 91, and 72–8 on the text of *Op.* References to Scholia vetera to *Theog.* are to the edition of L. Di Gregorio, *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Theogonia* (Milan 1975); Scholia vetera to *Op.*: ed. A. Pertusi, *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et dies* (Milan 1955). For the commentaries of Proclus, Tzetzes, and Moschopulus: Th. Gaisford, *Poetae minores Graeci* ii (Oxford 1814; Leipzig 1923). For the fragments of Plutarch's commentary: F. H. Sandbach, *Plutarchi Moralia* vii (Leipzig 1967) fr. 25–57, 59–112. For the surviving medieval scholia to *Scut.* see 4652 introd.

For a summary of the medieval manuscripts of Hesiod, see H. Erbse in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* i (Zurich 1968) 280–1; specifically for *Theog.* see M. L. West, *CQ.N.S.* 14 (1964) 165–89, summarised in id. *Hesiod: Theogony* (cit.) 53–72; for those of *Op.* see M. L. West, *CQ.N.S.* 24 (1974) 161–85, summarized in id. *Hesiod: Works and Days* (cit.) 78–86; for those of *Scut.* see F. H. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford 1913) 238–40; Solmsen (OCT ed. cit.) pp. xxii–xxiii, xxv–xxvi. For citations of the text of *Theog.* and *Op.* by ancient authors see the discussions of West, *Hesiod: Theogony* pp. 67–9, id. *Hesiod: Works and Days* pp. 63–75, and the secondary apparatus to both editions.

D. OBBINK

4653. HESIOD, THEOGONIA 143<sup>2</sup>–9, 411–20 (MORE OF XXXII 2648)

fr. 1: 60/12

2 × 6.5 cm (fr. 2)

Early third century

fr. 2: 127/28 (part)

Plate IV

Two fragments written along the fibres of a papyrus roll. Fr. 2 preserves a top margin to a height of 1.8 cm. On its back are two letters of cursive form seemingly written against the fibres, probably from a documentary text now badly abraded or washed out. The back of fr. 1 is blank. Its surface is darkened, particularly along the right edge.

The text is written in a smallish, closely written, sloping version of the Formal mixed type, leaning slightly to the right. The hand, linear spacing, and diacritical markup is identical to that of XXXII 2648 (pl. XV) =  $\Pi^{29}$ , which contains parts of 681–94 and 751–71, dated by its editor to early in the third century (fr. b there shows severe darkening of the surface, particularly at the right edge, similar to fr. 1 here). Presumably 4653 gives portions of lines at two different points earlier in the same roll. For the style of the writing compare XI 1365 (pl. VI; history of Sicyon), assigned to the first half of the third century ('accompanying document' carrying a date in 287), which is more slanting and closely written. A similar hand is VII 1016 (pl. V; Roberts, *GLH* 20a, Plato, *Phaedrus*) probably not written much before 235, the date of the tax-register VII 1044 on the front according to L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 9, though J. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 290, undermines one of Mrs Youtie's arguments but agrees that '234/5 can still be regarded as a likely if not a secure date' for VII 1044; similarly: D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 160.



4654. HESIOD, *THEOGONIA* 334-9

101/215(f)

6.5 × 2.7 cm

Third century

A small fragment from a roll containing vv. 334-9 written along the fibres in a medium-large hand. The back is blank. The script is a version of the Formal mixed type, written slowly but vigorously and with some attempt at stylization. It shows distinctly formed letter shapes, minimal connection between letters (cf. 335 αϷ), with a slight slant to the right. Horizontals and uprights are straight (tail of Ϸ and τ flare backwards at bottom), but diagonals show a tendency toward curvature: e.g. ν in μεν in 336 and α with tail finishing in a curve upward; ω with distinct rise to mid-level in the centre; but μ with shallow rounded saddle. ο is diminutive and floating between the lines. ε is of the tall and narrow type, with a straight back. The hand compares well with XXVII 2452 (pl. I-II; *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27, Sophocles?, *Theseus*) assigned to the third century (see p. 149 n. 48) and with XVII 2098 (pl. III; Roberts, *GLH* 19b, Herodotus VII) of the 'first half of the third century' (land survey of the reign of Gallienus on the back). The simplicity of the letter-shapes (e.g. Δ in 337) and the pronounced rise in the centre of ω, point to a date early in the third century. One acute accent is added (in 339), probably by the hand of the main text. In the two cases where we can judge, elision is effected and marked by apostrophe. There is no opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written. The text as preserved shows no divergences from the medieval tradition.

This is the first papyrus of Hesiod to witness these lines.

γ[ε]ι[ν]α[τ]ο  
 335 πειρασιν [   
 τουτο μεν εκ [   
 Τηθυς δ' Ωκεαν[ω  
 Νειλον τ' Αλφειο[ν  
 Στρυμόνα Μαια[νδρον

337 δ': The top of the apostrophe survives in its topmost part, a dot of ink beneath ε in the line above.

338-9 are present in the papyrus. Bergk condemned 338-45 as spurious, while Jacoby (in his edition of *Theog.*) thought them foreign to Hesiod's style.

B. CURRIE

4655. HESIOD, *THEOGONIA* 549-58, 562(?) -7

102/51(b)

5.2 × 6.2 cm (fr. 1)

First century

Two fragments of a papyrus roll (possibly but not certainly from the same column), written along the fibres. Upper margin is preserved to a depth of 2.1 cm. A second hand has added accents and corrections with a different pen. The back is blank.

The hand is irregularly executed in a medium-sized Informal round capital, bilinear (only φ and Ϸ project below the line), with oddly curled, right-pointing serifs attached to the upper part of α (cf. 551, 553, 554), Δ (cf. 550, 551), μ and ν (cf. 554). α is triangular, written in three movements with a near horizontal cross-bar, and a nose which dips lower than its right-hand tail. ε is written in two movements with a detached mid-stroke; its separately placed flat top nearly joins the end of the mid-stroke (554). ι occasionally has a left-facing serif (cf. 551, 552, 554). μ in four strokes, its oblique sides and the central dip touching the line. ο is rounded and formed in two halves, slightly taller than wide (heart-shaped in 3). Ϸ has a flat top. γ is a symmetrical cup on a short stem. ω in two movements. The diagonal of ν is near horizontal and meets the right upright just below its middle. Iota adscript is written wherever we expect it. Elision of final vowels is effected but not marked (one example: 550). Spacing of letters narrows in some lines (see 551), especially where letters are connected (551 Ϸε, 552 τα, 554 Ϸμφ). Punctuation (coinciding with weak pause) by medial point (550, 551, 554), placed in the course of writing the text, not afterwards as in the case of the accents and breathings. The odd decoration, some wildly divergent readings, and other oddities point to informal or private production, perhaps someone practising.

The hand compares well with XXXII 2654 + V 866 (pl. I; *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 41), assigned to the first half of the first century. It also resembles II 246 (Roberts, *GLH* 10c, return of sheep) dated to AD 66 and XXXVII 2822 (pl. I; Hesiod, *Catalogue*), assigned to the late first/early second century. Some of its apparently archaizing features, such as z with upright middle (550), and ε with detached cross-bar, find parallels in documents of the later first century, for example XLV 3250 (pl. VIII, AD 63). For an accented copy of Hesiod with breathing marks in a similar yet more carefully executed hand see XXIII 2355 (pl. II, *Catalogue*), assigned to the late first/early second century.

A second hand made corrections (missing ν inserted above the line in ι, overwritten Ϸ and ε in 553 and 566), and added acute and grave accents and a breathing sign (Turner's form 3; *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11) in darker ink with a different pen.

In 566 (and 557) the text overlaps with PSI XI 1191 fr. a col. i 1-2 (+ XXXII 2639 = Π<sup>13</sup>). It gives a combination of correct, potentially correct, and incorrect readings. In 449 it does not support a conjecture by Paley, siding against S with the rest of the manuscript tradition. An omission by haplography in 552 is apparently left uncorrected. In 554 the papyrus may give the erroneous word-order that later appears in *m* S, against *a b k* and a correction by L, or it may have omitted a word here. In 555 the papyrus does not side with *a k m* and a correction in S in completing that line with what the other MSS give as

the end of 557. The papyrus gives 564, a line suspected by Paley and other editors as a later addition.

## Fr. 1

των δ ελευ οππο]τερην' ce ενι φρε[ci  
 550 φη ρα δολοφρονε]ων· Ζένυ δ αφθι[τα  
 γνω ρ ουδ ηγ]νοιησε δολον· κακα δ[  
 θνητοις αν]θρώποις τα και <τε>λε[εσθαι  
 χερσι δ ο γ αμ]φοτέρησι αν[ε]λετο  
 χωσατο δε φ]ρενας αμφι· δ[  
 555 ως ιδεν οστεα λευκα] βοο[ε  
 εκ του δ αθανατοις]υ[  
 καιους οστεα λευκ]α θυ[ηεντων  
 τον δε μεγ οχθησας] π[ροσεφη

## Fr. 2

]. [  
 ουκ εδιδου μελιησι] πυρος μ[ερος  
 θνητοις ανθρωπ]οις 'οι επι χθο[νι  
 555 αλλα μιν εξαπατ]ησεν ευς παις Ι[απετοιο  
 κλειψας ακαματοιο πυρ]ος τηλέσ[κοπον  
 ]. [  
 . . .

549 ce: with *a b k Q*: γε S: ce γ' conjectured by Paley. The papyrus does not support Paley's conjecture, and raises ce to the status of an ancient variant.

550 Ζένυ. For contemporary parallels presenting barytonesis in oxytone words see C. M. Mazzucchi, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 157–8; J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 155.

552 After και, traces of two oblique strokes, the first of which suggests λ, but when combined with the second (trace of diagonal and horizontal ink at level of the line) could form μ (λα is less likely). τ cannot be read. No variant readings are reported. In accord with the tradition, και <τε>λε[εσθαι may be suspected.

553 αν[ε]λετο: ε is the upper left arc of a circle, with a trace of the cross-bar of λ, ε. Above ε there is part of an upright, written in the same ink as the accents, but more upright than the grave over α.

554 χωσατο δε φ]ρενας αμφι· δ[: χώσατο δε φρένας ἀμφί, χόλος δέ μιν ἔκετο θυμόν *a k Q*: δέ μιν before χόλος *m S*: omitted in *L<sup>ac</sup>* (after χόλος *I<sup>pc</sup>*, *m*. 1?). The papyrus has a small raised V-shaped trace after αμφι, apparently punctuation in the form of a middle point. In that case the papyrus, like most of the MSS, took ἀμφί as looking back to φρένας, whereas *m S* apparently take it as looking forward to θυμόν. However, the last trace in the papyrus does not suit x. The ink suggests an awkward c, and might suit a λ with a rounded left-hand corner and the right-

pointing serif present elsewhere on λ, λ, λ. If this is correct, did the papyrus simply omit χόλος accidentally? or did it share the reading of *m S*, in spite of punctuation?

555 βοο[ε: with *a k m S<sup>pc</sup>* (which continue here δολή ἐπὶ τέχνη): θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν *Q S<sup>ac</sup>* (by corruption from 557).

562(?) ].[: The trace is the intersection of a horizontal and a vertical, possibly γ of -λου, as suggested by spacing. Before this line, two lines (560–1) witnessed by *b k S Q* are omitted in *a* by homoioteleuton. Because the fragments are disjoined at precisely this point, it is impossible to tell whether or not the papyrus contained them.

564 is present in the papyrus, with *a b k S Q*. The entire line was suspected by Paley, as a later exegetical addition of a type similar to vv. 470, 522, 640.

Over οι, a grave accent is written first, then a rough breathing with both elements at a diagonal to the line and a loop at the bottom.

567 The traces are exiguous, being tops just possibly of θι from νειόθι. If so, the thin faded horizontal written above them could be the acute accent over ο. The word is so accented in this line in *IT<sup>13</sup>* (*PSI XI 1191 fr. a col. 1 2*).

L. CAPPONI

## 4656. HESIOD, THEOGONIA 667–84, 707–20 (?), 741–51, 752–6 (?)

A 641/5F

6.4 × 11 cm (fr. 1)

Early second century

Three fragments from a roll written in a tiny, fluid round cursive hand. The back is blank. A kollesis is visible in fr. 1. Top margin is preserved (in fr. 1) to a height of 2.2 cm.; intercolumnium at least 1.6 cm. Height of columns: c.19 cm (reconstructed) containing c.40 lines of text. The script is a round capital showing cursive influence. τ is made in three movements, with a split top. λ is of the variety where the left hand bowl has a flat top but a rounded bottom. Tongue of ε fails to connect with the inside of the body, and is sometimes connected to the top with a dangling stroke, but regularly projects beyond the body to connect with the following letter. Top of c falls forward to the base-line. Punctuation by high stroke (673), and by high stop (677, 678). Elision is effected but not marked. Internal organic diaeresis (674). Once (674) a mark of smooth breathing (Turner's Type 2). Iota adscript is written (667), but not consistently (omitted 672). The script compares well with P. Berol. 6926 B (Roberts, *GLH* 11a, Ninos-Romance, datable to I AD on the basis of accounts on verso referring to AD 100–1), but is written much smaller. Compare also Favorinus, *Περὶ φυγῆς* (Roberts, *GLH* no. 18b–c, dated 190–215 on the basis of land registers on front) which looks later (letter-forms taller than broad, and generally less rotund than the present papyrus).

In 675 the papyrus attests a probably original orthography represented nowhere in the medieval tradition. It overlaps with *IT<sup>19</sup>* (P. Mich. inv. 6828, ed. M. L. West, *BASP* 3 (1966) 69–75 at 69–71) at 710–19 and 743–51; with *IT<sup>29</sup>* (*XXXII 2648*) at 681–4, 751; with *IT<sup>5</sup>* (*Stud. Pal. I* (1901) 3–5) at 667–73.

## Fr. 1

παντες θηλειαι τε και αρσε]νες ηματι κεινωι  
 Τιτηνες τε θεοι και οσοι] Κρονου εξεγενοντο  
 ους τε Ζευς ερεβευςφι υπο χθονος] ηκε φοωδε  
 670 δεινοι τε κρατεροι τε βιην υπε]ροπλον εχοντε[  
 των εκατον μεν χειρες απ ω]μων αιςοντο  
 πασιν ομως κεφαλαι δε ε]καστω πεντηκοντα  
 εξ ωμων επεφυκον επι] ζτιβ]αρο'σι μελεσσι'  
 οι τοτε Τιτηνεςσι κατε]σταθεν εν δαι' λυγρη  
 675 πετρας ηιβατους στιβ]αρης εν χειρσιν εχοντες  
 Τιτηνες δ ετερωθεν εκ]αρτυναντο φαλαγγας  
 προφρονεως χειρων τε] βιης θ αμα εργον εφαινον'  
 αμφοτεροι δεινον δε περι]αχε ποντος απειρων'  
 γη δε μευ εσμαραγησεν ε]πεςτε[ν]ε δ ουρανος ευρυς  
 680 σειομενος πεδοθεν δε τι]γας[ε]το μακρος Ολυμπος  
 ριπηι υπ αθανατων ενοςι]ς δ ικαν[ε] βαρεια  
 Ταρταρον ηεροεντα πο]δων αιπε[ια τ ιων  
 ασπετου ιωχμοιο βολαων] τε κ[ρατεραων  
 ως αρ επ αλληλοισ ιεσαν β]ελ[εα στονοεντα

## Fr. 2

κ]ηλα Δ[ιος  
 ε]ς με[σον α]μφοτε[ρων  
 710 ζμερδαλεης εριδο[ς  
 εκ]λινη δε μαχη πριν δ[  
 εμ]μεν[ε]ως εμαχοντο δ[ια  
 οι δ αρ ενι π]ρωτοιςι μαχηη [  
 Κοττος] τε Βριαρεως τε Γυ[γης  
 715 οι ρα τριηκο]σιας πετρας στ[ιβαρεων  
 ]. [  
 . [  
 πε]μψαν  
 719 νι]κησαντες  
 ?720 . [  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 3

. . . . .  
 ουδας [  
 αλλα κε[ν] ενθα [  
 αργαλη δειρο[ν] δε καιαθ[  
 τουτο τερας και Νυκτος ερεμ[νης  
 745 εστηκεν νεφελης [ ] κεκ[αλυμμενα  
 των προσθ Ιαπετοιο [  
 εστηως κεφαλη[ι  
 αστεμφεως οτι Νυξ [  
 αλληλας προσεειπο[ν  
 750 χαλκεον [  
 ερχετ[αι ουδ]ε ποτ αμ[φοτερας  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 4

. . . . .  
 ?752 ]...  
 ?753 ]σεους[  
 ?754 ]. ε . . αν[  
 ?755 ]. εχ . . [  
 ?756 ]ον . [  
 . . . . .

668 is present in the papyrus, with *Π<sup>5</sup> a b k S Q*, which thus does not support Schwartz who condemned it as spurious.

669 Ζεύς is not read by *b*, but the spacing in the papyrus indicates the presence of a word of about this length (as does *Π<sup>5</sup>*).

φοωδε: with *Π<sup>5</sup> a*: φάοοδε *k*. After φ a round letter is suggested, rather than tail of λ.

671-3 are present in the papyrus, as well as in *Π<sup>5</sup>* and *a b k S Q*; Wolf's condemnation of them is thus not corroborated.

673 ζτιβαρο'σι μελεσσι: with *a b k* (μελέσσι *U*) *S Q*: στιβαροίς μελέσσι *Tr*.

675 στιβ]αρης: i.e. στιβαρῆς with Mosqu. 642 in a correction (reported by West): -αίς *b*: -άς *a k S Σ*. The orthography -ῆς is to be preferred, with West.

682 πο]δων αιπε[ια: with *a b k S Q*: ποδων τ' αιπέια *U* [*Π<sup>29</sup>*: [*Π<sup>29</sup>*]. *Π<sup>29</sup>* supports Hermann's transposition of τ'. Unless the papyrus lacked τ(ε), its reading lends ancient support to the order of the medieval MSS against Hermann, namely ποδῶν αἰπεῖά τ(ε).

684 β]ελ[εα: Traces show top of round letter with a horizontal stroke exiting to right from middle, compatible with the scribe's cursive ε connecting from mid-stroke, amply illustrated in the papyrus. The following letter is the top of a slightly diagonal stroke, compatible with λ, but with no trace of the left leg. Connecting stroke from preceding ε would meet the right leg at about mid-level. If -ελ-, the papyrus agreed with the transmitted *ἔεαν*

βέλεα σπονόμεντα. Π<sup>29</sup> has ]φρασανσπονόμεντ[, conjectured by West ap. XXXI 2648 and his edition of *Theog* to have been ε]φρασανσπονόμεντ[α βέλεμα on the basis of *Od.* 24.180 ἄλλοι ἐφίει βέλεα σπονόμεντα, where P. Ryl. I 53 has σπονόμεντα βέλεμα.

707–8 are read by the papyrus along with *a b S Q*: omitted by *k* (where it is supplied in *K* and *U* by the first hand).

711 πρην δ[: with Π<sup>19</sup> and most MSS: πρὸ (with δ' added above) L: πρὸς δ' m.

714 Βριαρεως: with *a b k S Q*: βριαρης Π<sup>19</sup> (corrected by a second hand): 'Οβριάρεως conjectured by Hermann (the name also at 149 and 617).

716 An indistinct trace, possibly κ or κα.

717 .[: Not prima facie τ1 as expected: bottom of a diagonal followed by bottom of a vertical.

719 νι[κ]ησαντες: at line-beginning with Π<sup>19</sup> and the rest of the medieval tradition, which thus does not support Rzach's transposition χερων νικησαντες.

?720 .[: Not the lower part of τ or το as expected, perhaps η.

743 δε: with Π<sup>19</sup> a *K*: τε u.

744–5 are present with Π<sup>19</sup> and Π<sup>20</sup> and *a b k S Q*, which thus does not support West's exclusion of them.

747 εστηως: with *b k S Q*: εστειώς a.

748 οτι: with *a b k S Q*: ]θι Π<sup>19</sup>.

?752–6 The preserved traces are compatible in all but 752 with these lines. If correctly identified, they stood at the beginning of col. iii.

?753 ]σειον[. For the shape of γ cf. that of οὐρανός in 679. εἶδσα is suggested, and the only possible positions in *Theog.* at line-end are 448 and 752–3. The following three lines could be read as conforming to the transmitted line-ends of 754–6 (and are not compatible with 449–51). The line preceding this line, however, does not appear compatible with the transmitted version in either place: it looks more like ων or νη, preceded by an indistinguishable trace. If we do not assume that these are line-ends, we could have εουσ at mid-line, as e.g. in 467 εούς, but the rest would not fit there either.

?754 ], ε. . aw[: Apparently εστ aw (i.e. round letter after ε suggesting c and not incompatible with γ) with *k* (i.e. εστ' aw): εδτ' aw a *b S*. Schecr conjectured εἰς δ' χ', which is apparently not corroborated by the papyrus.

D. OBBINK

#### 4657. HESIOD, *THEOGONIA* 820–31, 859–65

A16/5B(a)

9.5 × 9 cm (fr. 1)

Second century

Two scraps from a roll written across the fibres in a decent second century Informal round book-hand. Both have documentary writing on the front (fr. 1.3 *Καίσαρος*), but in different hands; it seems that separate documents were glued together at the heavy kollesis which can be seen in the right-hand margin of fr. 1. The literary scribe wrote some accents, and a mark of elision; middle stop at the end of 822; high stops are positioned above the letter after which the punctuation belongs without spacing, thus apparently placed after the line was written. The correction in 826 is apparently by a different hand (the o is narrower).

The papyrus includes the suspect lines 826–9, and especially 828; gives no help with the crux in 823; and offers new errors in 824, 826, and 827.

The papyrus overlaps at 859–65 with Π<sup>12</sup> (PSI IX 1086); at 863–5 with P. Lit. Palau Rib. 9. P. Mich. inv. 4270 (T. Renner, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 5–13 at 9–10) contains parts of 520–6,

but different parts of the lines; the same for Π<sup>15</sup> (P. Ant. II 71, a sixth-century papyrus codex) at 825–31 (which it gives in a different order).

Fr. 1

820 ουρανο]υ εξελα[ce Ζευς  
Τυφωε]α Γαία πελωρη  
χρυ]σήν Αφροδιτην·  
ερ]γματ' εχουσαι  
κρατερο]υ θεου· εκ δε τε ώμω[ν  
825 δει]νοιο δρακοντος  
λελιχ]μοτες· εκ δέ τε ός[  
ο]φρυι πύρ αμαρυς[εν  
] καιετο δερκομεν[οιο  
δew]ηις κεφαληις  
830 αθεσφατο]ν· άλ[λ]οτε μεν γαρ  
cυνιε]μεν [α]λλο[τε] δ [αυτε

Fr. 2

φλοξ δ]ε κε[ραυνωθεντος  
860 ουρε]ος εν βης[χηις  
πληγ]εντος πο[λλη  
αυτμ]ήι θεσπε[χηι  
τεχνη]υ]π αιζή'ω[ν  
θαλφθει]ς ηε ciδ[ηρος  
865 ουρεος ε]ν βης[χηις

822 χρυ]σήν: with *b a k S B Q*: χρυσήν Vaticanus 915 Parisinus 2772 Florentinus Laurentianus 31.32 (according to Rzach). Rzach corrected to χρυσήν.

823 ερ]γματ': with *a b k Q*: έργα τ' S.

824 δε τε: Here and in 826 δέ τε is written for δέ οί. In 826 οι appears as a suprascript correction over τε (which, however, is not cancelled). But here in 824 τε apparently is the reading of the text (with no correction). Cf. 688 εκ δέ τε πάντων / φαίνε βίην.

825 δει]νοιο: with *b*: κρατεροίο a *k Q S*.

826 λελιχ]μοτες: with *a b k Q S* and Anecd. Oxon. 1.262.28: -ότος Triclinius' version.



εκ . . . ος[ : ἐκ . . . ὄσων is read by *a b k* QS and followed by Solmsen; West prints ἐν (U) . . . ὄσων (Glásgu. Hunt. U. 6. 1, of 15th/16th cent.).

827 ἀμαρτες[εν: so *a b k* QS and printed by West: ἀμάρτεσσον is conjectured by West in his app. crit.

826–9 are removed by Fick as an ancient interpolation; 828 was similarly removed by Ruhnken. All three lines are present here, as also in *Π*<sup>12</sup>; note, however, that there the lines are given in a different order: 827, 828, 831, 829, 832, while 830 has been omitted and added above by a second hand, whereas the present papyrus shows exactly the same lines and order as the medieval MSS.

862 ἀντμ]ῆι: with *Π*<sup>12</sup> (ἀν]τμη required by space), presumably agreeing with ἀντμη in *b* QS; the spacing requires four letters in the initial lacuna (therefore not ἀτμη as in *k* or ἀντῆ as in *a*).

863 After αζη iota mutum is inserted suprascript in error: αζηων *Π*<sup>12</sup> and αζηώ(ν) P. Lit. Palau Rib. 9 with *a b k* QS which read αζηών. According to Eustath. 1117.3 some ancient scholars believed (εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀληθῶς) that αζηός should be written by analogy with the four-syllable αζηός.

P. J. PARSONS

**4658.** HESIOD, *THEOGONIA* 913–17

103/224(c)

2.6 × 5.1 cm

Third century

A small scrap from a roll showing the top of a column written in a script of the Formal mixed style. The back is blank. Top margin at least 2 cm. The medium-large script is generously spaced, both between individual letters and between the lines, but otherwise shows no pretensions to formality and has a slight slant to the right. It is larger, less closely written, and more widely spaced than **4653** (above, part of XXXII **2648**). Insofar as letters are represented here, XVII **2098** (pl. III; Roberts, *GLH* 19b, Herodotus VII) of the ‘first half of the third century’ (land survey of the reign of Gallienus on the back) is comparable. Note *c* of the tall and narrow variety like *ε*. *μ* with a shallow rounded saddle. Diagonal of *ν* meets the right upright considerably above the foot. There are no lectional signs in evidence and no opportunity to observe iota adscript. The fragment shows no deviations from the transmitted text.

The papyrus overlaps with XXXII **2639** fr. e (+ PSI XI 1191) = *Π*<sup>13</sup>.

915 η τεκε Περσεφονη]ν λευκ[ωλενον  
ηρπασεν ης παρα] μητρο[  
Μνημοσυνης δ εξ] αυτις [  
εξ ης οι Μουσαι χρυς]ζαμ[πυκες  
εννεα τησιον αδον θαλι]α κ[αι

915 εξ] αυτις [ : Over ]*a* there is a slight trace of ink that may be the remains of a circumflex as in *Π*<sup>13</sup>, which gives εξ] αυτις.

D. OBBINK

**4659.** HESIOD, *OPERA ET DIES* 8, 17–27

35 4B.101/C(1–3)b

5.7 × 8.2 cm

Second century  
Plate VII

Twelve lines from the bottom of a column written across the fibres in a semi-cursive script. On the other side, written along the fibres in a different hand, are six line-ends of a document (part of an account?) followed by a wide margin (there is no kollesis). The lower margin is preserved to a depth of 1.7 cm. At the left is a margin or *agraphon* preserved to a width of at least 2.5 cm. Unless it was a miniature roll with exceptionally short columns, this must have been the first column of *Op.* to have been copied. In the bottom margin v. 8 (apparently missed out when the upper portion of the column was written) has been inscribed by the same hand in smaller letters and marked in the left margin with an insertion sign. In addition, three lines (apparently copied out of sequence) have been marked by the original scribe with round *περιγραφαί* in the left margin. (To judge from parallel cases, the lines may have been closed with similar round brackets facing left at the right ends, now lost: see note.) The length of the original hexameter lines and thus the width of the column may be estimated at 9–10 cm. The reconstructed height of the column (assuming 26 lines in this column with v. 8 omitted and no initial title) is c.15.5 cm. The height of the reconstructed roll, allowing for a top margin of two thirds the height of the bottom margin, would be c.19 cm.

The script is an unprofessional round semi-cursive with frequent connection between letters and some variation in letter size, especially in width of letters. The writing is only roughly bilinear, with *φ* and *ψ* and occasionally *ι* violating the top and bottom line (but note *β* and *ρ* bounded by top and bottom line, i.e. raised slightly rather than dipping beneath the line). There is connection of top-stroke of *τ* and *π* to or from the tongue of *ε*. V-shaped *γ*; the top-stroke of *τ* is a single stroke; *μ* with a low round saddle and a slight blob or serif on the foot of its first stroke; *ψ* is a simple cross. *c* falls forward at end of word. Note *θ* in one movement with the cross-stroke carried forward beyond the body in connection with following letter. *ε* is written in three strokes, with the top placed separately and tongue often detached from the body but extending beyond its jaws to connect with the following letter, giving the impression of documentary affinity and a date in the later second century. For palaeographic parallels see P. Ryl. III 463 (*GLH* no. 20c, Gospel of Mary), assigned to middle of the third century, since it was perhaps composed not earlier than mid-second century, though this assignment rests partly on the palaeographic dating (D. Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordenen Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (Marburg 2000) 64); VIII **1100** (*GLH* no. 20b, Edict of Prefect, AD 206).

Punctuation is by high point placed probably by the original scribe but after writing the line (i.e. without independent space) in 22 marking weak pause; perhaps also by (an unusually short) paragraphus before 25 (i.e. below 21) and after 27 (i.e. before 22), if these are not simply strokes leading into the top and bottom of their respective round brackets.

There is a complement of lectional signs: apostrophe in 23; in 20 an initial long vowel is superscribed with a horizontal stroke and another sign of uncertain import (see note), and a medial short (accented) vowel is marked with an acute accent (cf. initially over a short accented vowel in 24). Elision is effected (and there marked with apostrophe) in the one place where we expect it. There is no opportunity to observe whether or not iota-adscript was written.

The text contains a high rate of variation and obvious scribal error in a short span: omission (uncorrected) of a word in 19, omission of one whole line, and three lines copied out of sequence. This is a high rate of error for a scribe so early in the poem and roll (i.e. in 5 of out of the first 20 lines). A professional scribe might have been expected to make a new start (assuming the errors were realized sufficiently early). It is not likely that another text (e.g. *Theogonia*, *Catalogus*, or some other) preceded in the roll: there is no kollesis in evidence, and the wide margin following the document on the front might indicate the end of a documentary roll at the point where *Op.* begins on the back; if so, there would have been no space on the back for any text to have preceded.

It is not certain that the text continued after this column. But given the use of the diagonal insertion sign (see on 8 and cf. 4660 98) to mark the point of insertion of a missing line in this column, the marking of 25–7 as deleted or misplaced could be taken as implying a following column where the presence of these lines was required or otherwise relevant. In spite of its errors, the papyrus contains at least one correct reading at a point where major branches of the tradition diverge (24). Two of the three scribal errors listed above stand corrected in the papyrus. These methods of correction are standard ones in formal book production, although not entirely consistent with the insouciance of the informal hand and the construction of the roll (a reused back).

The addition of v. 8 in the lower margin makes this the earliest portion of *Op.* preserved on papyrus (several papyri preserve the beginning of *Theogonia*). *Π*<sup>39</sup> (XLV 3220) contains part of 15–16 and an interlinear addition to 17 but from a different part of the line. The notes below follow the order of verses in the papyrus.

- 17 τὴν δ] ἑτερη[ν  
 18 θη]κε δε μιν [  
 19 γα[ι]ης τε ριζη[ιςι  
 20 ἠ τε και ἀπά[λαμ-  
 21 εις ἑτερον γ[αρ  
 25 ( και κεραμευ[ς κεραμει  
 26 ( και πτωχος π[τωχωι  
 27 ( ω Περση κυ δ[ε  
 22 πλουσιον' ος [  
 23 οικόν τ' ευ θ[εσθαι  
 24 εις ἀφενος ς[πενδοντ

- 23 οικόν τ' ευ θ[εσθαι  
 24 εις ἀφενος ς[πενδοντ

In the lower margin:

- 8 / Ζευς υψιβρεμε[της

19 τε ριζη[ιςι: τ' ἐν ριζη[ιςι ο and Proclus' commentary: ἐν ριζη[ιςι without τ(ε) Par. 2763 and ε. In the epic initial rho can make position (Chantraine, *Gx. Hom.* i 177, noting δέ long before ρίζαν at *Il.* 11.846), so the papyrus' reading is not unmetrical, but it is unsatisfactory grammatically (especially since the simple dative makes a misleading parallel with the following ἀνδράσι). Elsewhere in the papyrus final vowels are elided where expected (23, required by space in 17). We could assume omission of ν and correct to τ ε(ν) ριζη[ιςι. Otherwise we must suppose that the preposition itself dropped at an earlier stage in an exemplar that showed scriptio plena (τε ἐν) at this point.

20 ἀπά[λαμ: ἀπάλαμον Ε<sup>c</sup> ψ<sub>1</sub> ψ<sub>2</sub>, correctly: ἀπάλαμον Ω D Φ. There is a long mark over the first a of ἀπάλαμον (correctly), and above it another mark (in the form of a mid-point followed by short upright, resembling a smooth-breathing mark of form 1 (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11), but without the horizontal connected to the vertical. However, it could also be interpreted as an attempt at a grave accent, so that we would have the expected ἀπά[λ-.

25–7 are written after 21. The lines are marked by round περιγραφαί in the left margin (perhaps their counterparts also stood at ends of lines in the right margin, now lost, as in some of the parallel cases given below). Strictly speaking, these signal trouble or mark a deletion and/or misplacement. But it may be concluded that the lines were copied in the wrong place. There is no textual tradition of the disturbance or inauthenticity of 25–7 (or 22–4), nor can they stand in this position. 25 καὶ κτλ. interrupts a sentence left incomplete in 21, before πλούσιον in enjambment in 22, which can not therefore continue after 27. Clearly the eye of the scribe (or one at an earlier stage in the paradosis) has skipped three lines down from the end of 21 to the beginning of 25, misled by the fact that both lines 22 and 25 follow on after a line beginning with εἰς (21 and 24 respectively). How their placement was indicated in the following column (now lost) is uncertain. If the transposed lines were present in the scribe's exemplar in the same position in which they appear in the manuscript tradition (which is not certain), and the scribe caught his mistake in time, he would have copied 25–7 as the opening lines of the following column. It is possible that the omission was not discovered until collation (with the exemplar, if it had them, or another copy, if it did not), and the point of insertion in the following column was marked at that time with a diagonal insertion sign like that which appears before 8 in the surviving column. Alternatively, the lines could have been added in the margin above the following column (now lost), in the same way in which v. 8 when discovered missing was copied in the margin at the bottom of col. 1 (leaving there no room for inscription of the additionally misplaced 25–7). The point of insertion would in this case have then been similarly marked in the margin of the following column at a point of which we can no longer be certain: there is no way of knowing for certain whether, after correction, the papyrus' text intended 25–7 to follow directly upon 24.

The use of brackets (περιγραφαί) to signal trouble or mark a deletion (especially of misplaced material) is variously exemplified: X 1234 fr. 2 col. i 14 (pl. IV, Alcaeus fr. 71 Lobel–Page/Voigt), where the first verse of a new poem after a coronis was originally omitted, then supplied by a corrector who encloses the line in round brackets, and further re-copies it in its proper position as line 2 (= i 15) of the new poem while tacitly emending a miswriting. More dramatically: P. Vatic. 11 (Favorinus, *De exilio*) cols. xiii 39–xiv 11 marking a falsely placed passage (M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *Il papiro vaticano greco* 11, *Studi e testi* 53 (Città del Vaticano 1931) 9, 24–5 with tavv. VII–VIII): here the scribe's eye has wandered from col. xiii 38 ἀποδημίας to the same point in the following column, xiv 32 αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, and he proceeded to copy out the entire passage xiv 32 αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν to xv 6 κακῶς before noticing and redressing his mistake. Then he marked for excision xiii 39–49 (together with the second half of line 38) and xiv 1–14 — each with its own set of round brackets, i.e. one on the left facing right and another on the right facing left, marking in addition the beginning and end of the entire passage to be excised with an X, and writing above the line at the beginning a *reclamans* with which the passage picks up again after the redundant section at

col. xiv 15. The scribe of the Vatican Favorinus has used single, large round brackets to mark the entire passage, whereas in the present papyrus individual brackets are applied to each of the three lines in sequence, following standard practice for single lines copied out of sequence: for examples see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16 and nos. 15, 25, 63, 76, with p. 148 n. 26 on the use of *περιγραφαί* in documentary papyri, and add P. Herc. 243 fr. 3.9–12 (A. Henrichs, *CErc* 13 (1983) 33–43 at 38–9; W. Luppe, *CErc* 14 (1984) 109–24), four lines copied out of sequence from the same level in the following column (where the point of insertion is marked with an interlinear *κάτω* and the lines written by another hand in a slightly different word order in the lower margin), with the whole passage marked as out of position by a square upper and lower half-bracket in the left margin (the right margin is lost), one above the first and another below the last of the misplaced lines.

25 *κεραμευ*[*κεραμει*: with *ε ο* (unless the papyrus omitted *κεραμει* in error): *κεραμει κεραμευς* var. lect. Aristot. *Pol.* 1312<sup>b</sup>5. There is no way of knowing how the line ended. Plat. *Lys.* 215c quotes the line with the ending *δοιδος δοιδω*, which the MSS give as the ending of 26, and Prisc. *Inst.* 18.145 gives the ending of 26 as *και τεκτονι τεκτων* which in the MSS concludes 25. There is no evidence for disordering of 25–7 in the secondary or medieval tradition.

Over the initial *κ* there is a bit of stray ink (unless it is a lineation dot). Possibly in conjunction with the round bracket there is a very short paragraphus, extending into the margin (if it is not simply part of the round bracket), i.e. a horizontal which extends to the left from the top of the hasta of *κ*, which it meets at the same point as the top tip of the round bracket. If it is indeed a paragraphus, it must have been carried over from a point where it appeared in an exemplar signalling a break in an originally preceding line 24, since there is no break anywhere in 22 which actually precedes in the text as written. Cf. on 27. But it is clearly written in connection with and as part of the round bracket, rather than cohcring with the preceding line.

27 Possibly a very short paragraphus under the first letter of the line (apparently not simply a continuation of the round bracket: there is no connection). If so, it must have been carried over from a point where it appeared in an exemplar marking weak pause after 27, since there is no pause in 21, i.e. the line preceding 22 which actually follows 27 here in the text as written.

22 *πλουσιον* *ος* [. Note that, after having been originally copied out of sequence and subsequently corrected, the papyrus' reading is the same as all MSS (i.e. with *ε ο*), against various emendations designed to solve the grammatical problems of 21–3.

24 *αφενος*: with *ε Ω Φ*, correctly: *αφενον* D *ψ*, variant reading in *Φ* and Stob. 3.38.25, *Σ* Opp. *Hal.* 1.500, *Orac. Sib.* 14.276.

8 The verse is written in the lower margin by the same hand in smaller letters and marked in the left margin with an insertion sign (a diagonal rising from below the line of writing left to right to the point where the line begins). One suspects that a corresponding sign must have originally stood in the margin of the upper portion of the column at the intended point of insertion (as in 4660 (Hes. *Op.*) below and to the left of v. 98 marking omission at this point of 99). If this was at the same point at which 8 appears in the manuscript tradition, this would have been closer by far to the top than to the bottom of the column, and the missing line would therefore have been expected to be supplied in the top margin, were this not the opening column of the poem. Note therefore that the missing line is written in the bottom margin here rather than (as would be otherwise expected) in the upper margin, since standing at the top of the column, it would have immediately preceded v. 1 and the beginning of *Op.*, so that in this case the work would have seemed to begin not with v. 1, but with 8 together with announcement of the error and its correction.

D. OBBINK

4660. HESIOD, *OPERA ET DIES* 57–63(?), 91–106 (MISSING 93, 99)

35 4B.70/M(5)a

4.3 × 13.7 cm

First century BC/first century AD

Beginnings of 14 verses from the the top of a column, plus a few letters from the ends of the preceding column in a stylised capital. The back is blank. Upper margin is preserved to a height of 3 cm, presumably the original top edge. An intercolumnium (1.1 cm at its narrowest) is delimited by three line-ends of the preceding column. Apparently one accent (grave) is written (104). The scribe writes iota adscript (104) and effects elision without signalling it (106). If the lines of col. i are correctly identified, the columns contained 34 lines, at a height of 6.28 cm (reconstructed).

The hand is a Formal round type of a date early for Oxyrhynchus: it shows *ε* with tongue detached from the inside of its bowl, but confined within its body in the manner of the epsilon-theta style reminiscent of hands of the first century BC. *μ* has legs curving out at bottom, and a deep curve in its middle almost in an angle (100). *τ* in two strokes with a split-top (98). *α* is of the angular variety, in which the lower arm meets the left arm just beneath mid-level, and the left arm meets the right one below the top of the latter. The hand shows broad strokes with no shading, but decoration in the form of wide horizontal feet and serifs on the bottoms of uprights (pointing outward in opposite directions on the feet of *π* and *η*) and on the tops of some uprights. That these have their origin in connecting strokes is obvious by the level of connection between letters, e.g. *α* connecting to *ο* at the bottom line (97), but in 98 connection is effected via the serifs at the tops of letters. In principle the hand could be of the first century AD, as e.g. II 246 (Roberts, *GLH* 10c), return of sheep, AD 66. But the decoration, especially the serifs and finials, is more in keeping with hands of the late first century BC, so as to suggest comparison with P. Fayum 7 (Roberts, *GLH* 9b), H. *Od.* VI, and P. Fayum 6 (Roberts, *GLH* 9c), H. *Il.* XXI, both dated by the documents with which they were found to the late first century BC. All of this recommends a date not later than the early first century AD, though a date in the late first century BC is not to be ruled out.

The scribe omits two lines, for one of which (99) the insertion point (after v. 98) has been correctly placed by a corrector; this line is also omitted by Plutarch. The other (93) is unmarked. The papyrus adds ancient authority to the omission of this line by one group of medieval MSS. A supralinear notation of a unique variant in 100 suggests collation with another copy.

*Π*<sup>41</sup> (XLV 3221) contains parts of 91–108 but preserves a different portion of the lines.

Col. i

?57

απαντέ]ς

?58

αμφαγαπων]τες

59–62 lost

?63

Αθηνη]ν

64–90 lost

## Col. ii

91 νοςφω α[τερ  
 92 ν[ουσω  
 94 αλλα γυνη [  
 95 εσκεδα[ε  
 96 μουνη δ[  
 97 ενδον εμ[-  
 98 / εξεπτη π[ροσθεν  
 100 αλλα [[δ]]τ'ε μυ[ρια  
 πλεμη μεν χαρ [  
 νο[υσοι δ] α[νθρωποισω  
 αυτομα[τ-  
 κυνη επει φ[ωνην  
 105 ουτως [  
 ει δεθελ[

## Col. i

58? αμφαγαπων]τες: A trace of the cross-bar of ε and the end of the horizontal of τ are visible. This appears to rule out the other candidate for placement of this line-end and the one above it, namely 66–7, both of which end in ε (that placement would result in columns of only 14 lines high).

63? Αθηνη]ν: The surviving trace is a vertical leaning to the left at top with a foot curving sharply right at bottom, and the end of a diagonal from the left connecting with the vertical somewhat above the line. Examples of η elsewhere have upright hastas and do not exhibit the horizontal connecting stroke on the feet. But we do not know how they looked at line-end, and the ends of the lines after 67 do not offer any alternatives.

## Col. 2

92 ν[: An upright leaning slightly to the right with a finial on its foot and a trace of the diagonal descending from its top. After that the horizontal fibres are stripped, and only the vertical remain.

93 is missing as it is in Pr Ω D Tz φ<sub>5</sub> ψ<sub>6</sub> ψ<sub>7</sub> Origen c. Cels. 4.48: αλφα γαρ εν κακοτητι βροτοι καταγηρασκουσιν (= Od. 19.360) E φ<sub>6</sub> φ<sub>7</sub> ψ<sub>9</sub> Mo Tr; in the margin in different hand in N φ\* ψ\*. In P<sup>41</sup> the traces are insufficient to determine its presence. The papyrus supplies ancient authority for its absence from the original paradosis, and suggests that it was an addition later than the first century BC. The corrector takes no notice of the omission, unlike that of 99.

97 μ[-: εμμυε C D Φ ψ<sub>6</sub> ψ<sub>9</sub> ψ<sub>10</sub> Origen c. Cels. 4.38: εμμεε ψ\* ι\*: an illegible supralinear variant C<sup>1st</sup>. The papyrus does not decide.

98 Below and to the left of this line-beginning a corrector has written an ancora mark in the form of a diagonal stroke (without a round top) in an ink lighter than that of the main hand, marking the omission of ν. 99. To

judge from the (downward pointing) direction of the stroke, the line was probably written in the bottom margin as in 4659 8 (where see note). For the diagonal stroke marking omission and point of insertion see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16 with further examples.

After 98, 99 (αιγιόχου βουλήει Διδος νεφελγηρέταιο) is missing in the papyrus, as it is in the quotation of 94–104 at 'Plut.' *Mor.* 105DE (which quotes 94–104), though it is present in *o* and present in P<sup>41</sup>. The coincidence with Plutarch here suggests that 99 was omitted in at least one branch of the ancient tradition (now with no medieval descendants), but was present in some manuscripts circulating contemporaneously with the papyrus, and so was here noted and added by a corrector by collation with a MS different from the scribe's exemplar.

100 δε: so the papyrus before correction with *o*. In the papyrus δ(ε) has been corrected to τ(ε): over δ a τ of smaller size has been written with a different pen and more faded ink (possibly followed by a mid-point), but the δ was not deleted. Thus presumably we have a variant recorded from collation with another ancient manuscript.

101 χαρ: The horizontal fibres are here stripped, and the traces preserved only by seepage onto the vertical fibres beneath.

103 αυτομα[τ-: αὐτόματα Stobaeus 4.43.32 *El. Sym. El. Magn.*: -τοι ο\*, but the papyrus gives no help here.

104 This verse was suspected by an ancient critic according to the scholia because of the apparent absurdity (so West) of giving the diseases a voice, although the scholia refute this, offering the parallels of Eris and Deimos in Homer. The papyrus text takes no notice of the controversy.

106 ει δεθελ[: Only tops of round letters are preserved, but the number of them shows that there was only one epsilon between δ and θ. We cannot be sure that ει δε θελ- is not to be understood from the papyrus, rather than ει δ' εθελει, printed by editors following most MSS.

D. OBBINK

## 4661. HESIOD, OPERA ET DIES 563–7

81 2B.85/32(a)

2.5 × 3.1 cm

Third century

A scrap from the middle of a column of a papyrus roll written parallel to the fibres. The back is blank. The script is of the Formal mixed type of medium size with a slant to the right and slight shading (horizontal strokes, e.g. cross-bar of π, η, τ, as well as certain oblique strokes, e.g. lower oblique of α fairly thin, while vertical downstrokes are rather thicker). There is little decoration, apart from the hook at the beginning of the cross-stroke of τ. α in three strokes sharply pointed at left. Δ with a bottom at an angle to the line, with a concave right-hand oblique and hook at the bottom. ε has a flat back and long tongue extending beyond the body. μ in three strokes with a curved saddle coming about two thirds of the way down to the line of writing. ο small but not tiny, and floating between the lines. π with a right-hand vertical shorter than the left and a cross-bar projecting over it to the right. ω with right leaning sides and a flat bottom. ρ with tail below the line curving slightly to left. τ with a blunt (not pointed) descender below the line and cross-bar at mid-level, connecting from tongue of ε. It may be compared with XXVII 2452 (pll. I–II; *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27, Sophocles?, *Theseus*) assigned to the third century (see p. 149 n. 48). ω in 2452 more rounded and upright, whereas in the present hand it is angular and slanting, and τ has a hook at left side of the cross-bar. No accents or other diacritical signs are in evidence. No opportunity to observe whether any punctuation was indicated (perhaps a small space is left between words before ρ in 566), or whether iota adscript was written. No evidence of corrections or

additions by a second hand. Apparently an iotacistic spelling in 563. There are no new variants in evidence; but the papyrus includes 563, known to have been suspected in antiquity. **4648** 22 quotes part of 567 but a different part of the verse.

Γη παντων μητηρ καρπον συμ]με[ικτον  
 ευτ αν δ εξηκοντα μετα τρο]πας ηελ[ιοιο  
 565 χειμερι εκτελεσει Ζευς ημα]τα δη ρα [  
 Αρκτουρος προλιπων ιερο]ν ροον Ω[κεανοιο  
 πρωτον παμφαινων επιτ]ελλετ[αι

563 The line was athetized along with 561–2 by Plutarch in his commentary (fr. 77 Sandbach), but his reasons are not preserved. He may not have been the first to do so, since the verses are not represented in the Scholia vetera, though they were known to Et<sup>6</sup> A and the later scholia and are present in *o*.

566 ιερο]ν: Its presence is shown by spacing together with alignment with the letters above, with Ω Φ: omitted by D ψ<sub>5</sub>: placed after ῥόον in ω<sup>1</sup> φ<sup>+</sup>.

K. DOULAMIS

**4662. HESIOD, OPERA ET DIES 771(?)–6**

69/4(c)

6.8 × 2.6 cm

Late second century

Five lines from the bottom of a column from a papyrus roll written along the fibres in a good book-hand. The back is blank. The lower margin is preserved to a depth of 3 cm. The text is thoroughly marked up with accents, breathings, and punctuation. The date of the hand (an earlier version of the Formal mixed type) is evidenced by the μ in four distinct strokes; ω with a slight rise in the centre of its bottom looks somewhat later by comparison; similarly mid-stroke of ε and ϑ extend beyond the body. The letters are well spaced, with a consistent slant to the right, and final strokes of letters are lifted, e.g. right leg of λ and ν, the latter with an extended, almost vertical middle, giving the impression that the hand is written more rapidly than in actuality. A carefully penned copy, as far as we can tell, written with a broad pen with only minimal shading. For a parallel compare I **26** (GLH 19a, Demosthenes, *Prooemia*, with documentary annotations probably of the second century).

Punctuation is signalled by high (and possibly medial) point. Accents (circumflex, grave, possibly acute). A mark of breathing (smooth: form 1, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11). The diacriticals were added after the text was written in a finer pen and blacker ink than that of the main text.

The papyrus overlaps with Π<sup>5</sup> (*Stud. Pal.* I (1901) xviii), and with Π<sup>39</sup> (XLV **3220**) at 775–6. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. c. 237 (P) frs. B + C (published by R. Luiselli, *ZPE* 142 (2003) 157–9) contains parts of 771–4 but different parts of the lines. There are no new readings,

but the presence of 776, missing in a twelfth-century manuscript (E) but present in both previously published papyri, is corroborated.

ηματ]α μήνος [  
 πενεσθ]αι·  
 με]ν ἐσθλάι  
 775 καρπο]ν ἀμάσθα[ι  
 αμε[]νων [  
 ]·

771(?) ]·: A small point of ink at mid-level, possibly the end of 771 (no punctuation is expected after 770), which is shorter than the following 772 by five letters. The trace may be a medial point of punctuation at line-end, as the remainder of the line has been left blank. Compare 773, which ends at exactly this point, also with a mark of punctuation.

773 The point of punctuation is at the level of the top of ι, which elsewhere rises somewhat above the tops of the letters.

774 ἐσθλάι: The first accent warns against placement of the acute in this syllable (see on **4653** 414; **4655** 550); the second is a grave accent, with 775 regarded as continuing without a strong pause.

776 αμε[]νων: with Ω D: 776–90 are missing in E. Presumably the papyrus had these lines, as did Π<sup>5</sup> and Π<sup>39</sup>, which also attest parts of each, and there is as yet no papyrus which lacks them.

A trace of ink over the first ν must be the right end of an acute accent on the now lost ει. There is also a blob of ink directly beneath ω, with blank surface on either side of it, apparently just stray ink (no punctuation is expected at the end of 777).

D. OBBINK

**4663. HESIOD, OPERA ET DIES END-TITLE**

38 3B.79/E(3)a

10.5 × 26.5 cm

Second century

A large sheet of re-used papyrus, blank on one side except for the title, containing in the middle of the sheet four words written across the fibres and centred over three lines. On the front and along the fibres but the other way up is an extensive register (κώμ(η), οἰκί(α), and proper names occur with frequency in long lines) in a hand of the second century. Above the first line is 12.5 cm of blank papyrus; below the third line is 10.5 cm, also blank. The three lines of writing occupy a square 4 × 4 cm. Height of the taller letters is 0.7 cm; about the same distance is maintained between the lines of writing. The lines are preceded by an *agraphon* of at least 5.5 cm in width. Presumably the text of *Op.* (828 verses in the medieval MSS) preceded, likewise written on the re-used documentary back. Very likely the end-title was centred horizontally in a final blank (i.e. with c.5 cm missing to the right (which would give room for the line-ends of the documentary column on the front)).

The hand is a spindly, rapidly written Informal semi-round bookhand that could be

dated to the second century. It shows contrast between tall vertical strokes and short horizontal ones, between tall narrow letters (ε, ι, κ) and wider short ones (α, ο), while η and γ provide additional contrast in that they have the height of the taller letters but are also wide. ο, diminutive and floating in the middle between the lines, looks forward to the Severe Style. γ is made out of a wide, shallow rounded bowl balanced on a longish stem with a pointed tail descending below the line and curving slightly to the left. ι is ligatured to preceding α in the manner of a documentary script. The shape of κ is reminiscent of the Chancery Style. The rounded, detached bowl of γ suggests the shape of the later first or early second century. But formality (together with size) may be exaggerated in the writing of an end-title. As such it may give an impression of being earlier than it really is. This finds confirmation in μ, for example, which has a rounded middle at mid-level. The writing of the main text (assuming, as usual, that it is the same hand as that which penned the end-title) may be imagined as slightly smaller and more informal than the letters of the title. Perhaps a private rather than professional copy, as suits the re-use of the documentary back.

Thin decorative strokes (as commonly in titles), straight in intent but rapidly and flamboyantly placed, bound the tops and bottoms of the letters at the beginning and ends of the lines. A similar stroke, likewise in the same ink as the writing, appears under *Εργα* in 2. After this stroke there are also several traces in different, darker ink (if it is not simply grime), where something appears to have been rubbed out.

This is the first end-title of *Op.* from a papyrus roll. It is unknown whether *Theog.* or any other text preceded *Op.* in the roll; it is possible, but not certain, that no other text followed (see above). P. Achm. 3 = *Π*<sup>3</sup>, a 4th–5th-c. papyrus codex from Panopolis, preserves *Theog.* 75–106, 108–45 and none of the text of *Op.*, but includes an end-title ('titre final ou *εἰλλυβος*' according to P. Collart in P. Achm. 3 p. 47) bearing the author's name and titles of *Theog.*, *Op.*, and *Scut.*, apparently from a codex containing all three works. P. Vindob. G 19815 = *Π*<sup>5</sup> (a later 4th-c. parchment codex: *GBEBP* no. 11b p. 30) preserves parts of *Theog.*, *Op.* (including the end, to v. 828), and beginning of *Scut.*, and includes an end-title for *Op.* (*Ησιοδο[v Εργ]α και [Ημε]ραι*) and an initial-title for *Scut.* (*Ησιοδου Ασπις*) (Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* 1 (1901) xx–xxi). **4659**, also a re-used documentary back, could be roughly contemporary in date and is written in a similarly informal hand. But the ink is different, being considerably darker, and γ is V-shaped.

—            —  
*Ησιοδου*  
 —            —  
*Εργα*  
 —            —    [—  
*και Ημερ[αι*  
 —            —    [—

D. OBBINK

**4664.** HESIOD, *SCUTUM* 92–106

75/18(b)

8.5 × 9.6 cm

Late first/early second century

Top of a column with upper margin (at least 2.5 cm) written across the fibres of a papyrus roll in narrowly spaced lines. On the front, along the fibres are five generously spaced lines of cursive with a high top margin (register? *ι -]ος του Χαιρήμονος του 'Αλεξ[-*, 2 *Ερμιόνης καὶ (?) []*) in a largish script datable to the end of the first century. The script of the literary text is a fluent cursive, a rapidly written version of the Informal round type, with a slant to the left (note *ι*, *λ*, *η*). There is connection between some groups of letters, particularly from and into *ε*. The bottom half of *c* is virtually a diagonal (95, elsewhere somewhat more curved) with a strictly horizontal top added, insinuating an impression of rapidity. γ in three different shapes: (i) with tail looped at top and flaring out to the lower right to produce a *c*-like shape; (ii) V-shaped with closed loop at bottom; (iii) a shallow champagne-glass-like bowl balanced on a curved stem. α is a diagonal with attached loop at left. α formed similarly with a larger loop, i.e. its left angle rounded. η in the earlier form with the left member higher than the crossbar and right vertical (as also in the document on the front). Cursive *ε* formed in its lower part by diagonal connection stroke with curved top added, its mid-stroke unconnected to the inside. *ρ* distinctively connects to following letter with a horizontal stroke from beneath the bowl at baseline. ω has an additional stroke connecting at bottom with the following letter. The script shows some affinity with P. Lond. I 110 (*GLH* 18a, horoscope with date of birth 4 December 137, according to O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia 1959) 40), but is written with a finer pen. More cursive but worth comparing is *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 16 (Alcman, *Partheneia*, I AD assigned; cf. *ibid.* 60, *Aristot. Ath. Pol.*, late first century, with agricultural accounts of 78/9 on recto).

Punctuation is by mid-point and low point (95, where it marks weak pause). In two cases the scribe has placed circumflex accents and once an acute. Elision is effected in the two places where it is required and is not marked. Iota adscript, required in 104, is not written there, the only place where we expect it. The δ in *υποδείξας* (98), which has to be counted twice for metrical reasons, is only written once. Yet this need not be formally counted as an error: according to S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Cologne and Opladen 1965) 113: 'the Ptolemaic papyri support Aristophanes against Aristarchus in geminating the initial consonant. Except for rho, the Aristophanic practice is invariable in these papyri . . . In Roman papyri both practices are found, sometimes in the same papyrus.'

*Π*<sup>39</sup> (XLV 3220) overlaps at 92–6 but contains different parts of the same lines.

*c]χετλιος η̄ που πολλα μ[ετ-  
 ην ατην οχεων η̄ δ ου π[αλωναγρετος  
 αυταρ εμοι δαιμων χαλ[επουσ  
 ω φιλος. αλλα συ θααρον εχ[*

95

ιππων ωκυπ[οδ]ων μεγα [   
 ιθυσ εχειν θοο. αρμα και [   
 μηδεν υποδειξας κτυπο[ν] Αρεο[ς]   
 ο[ς] νυν κεκληγω[ς] περι[ιμ]αινεται [   
 100 Φοιβου Απολλω[νος] εκατηβηλε[ταο]   
 η μην και κρατ[ερο]ς [περ ε]ων . . [   
 τ[ο]ν δ αυτε προσε[ειπ]εν αμωμ[ητος]   
 η[θ]ε[ι] η μαλά δ[η] τι πα[τηρ] ανδρων   
 τι[μα]σην κ[ε]φ[αλην] και τα[υρεος]   
 105 ο[ς] [Θ]ηβης κρη[δεμνον]   
 οιον δ]η και [

92 μ[ετ]-: μεταστοναχίζετ' m: μετεστεναχίζετ' A: μετεστοναχίζετ' Stobacus 3.4.35.

93 οχεων: with B A J F Z R: ἀχέων b S Stob. Cf. *Od.* 21.302 with same variant. ἀχέων, present participle (intensive of ἔχων) is apparently the correct reading. ἀχέων could be interpreted as (i) genitive plural of ἄχος: but the genitive of definition does not otherwise occur with ἄτη in Homer or Hesiod; cf. *Il.* 6.356, 24.38 'Αλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἄτης (ἀχέων gen. pl. otherwise only at *Il.* 20.298 μῶψ' ἔνεκ' ἄλλοτριῶν ἀχέων, Hom. *hymn. Cer.* 436 ἀχέων δ' ἀπεπαύετο θυμός). (ii) = ἀχέων present participle 'bewail', 'lament', easy enough with μετεστεναχίζετο in 92. But ἀχέων = ἀχέων is used only with genitive of cause, with internal accusative, or absolutely. If we assume that in the present passage ἀχέων = ἀχέων is used absolutely and that the accusative depends on μετεστεναχίζετο, we will have difficulties to construe the accusative at *Od.* 21.302 (at *Od.* 4.100 πάντας μὲν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχέων the accusative depends on ὀδυρόμενος). (iii) = a form of ἰαχέω 'utter' (see Buttmann, *Lexilogus* ii<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1860) 103; Richardson and Allen/Halliday on Hom. *hymn. Dem.* 479). This meaning is unsuitable in both *Od.* 21.302 and the present passage. Therefore the reading ἀχέων is to be rejected (as by most editors) in favour of ἀχέων, which suits grammar (it is transitive) and sense.

97 θοο.: θοόν b S J F Z R: θοός B A. After θο there is the top of a round letter as ε, θ, ο, and after that just trace at level of the line which does not rule out either of the transmitted readings.

101 . . [: ἄται b B A J F Z R: ἄεται S: corrected to ἄται by Heyne. Solmsen compares Hsch. s.v. ἄται. The first trace is of an upright, the second a hook over left, not λ.

102 αμωμ[ητος]. No other reading is recorded. μ is largely obliterated, but there is ample space for it, also for ω which seems to show its characteristic connection stroke at bottom into the following letter; that letter, however, has a middle less deep than μ shows elsewhere, and there is unexplained ink beneath its left leg (as though part of the connecting stroke from ω).

103 μαλά: The ink over the second α appears to be an acute accent, but if so, it is misplaced.

106 και [: The first trace just a speck at level of the top-line, compatible with λ in the expected καί. The second trace, top of high oblique curving left above the top-line, could be top of ι curving into the vertical.

CHR. SCHULER & J. RADICKE

4665. HESIOD, *SCUTUM* 220–30

68 6B.20/D(5–8)b

2.7 × 5.8 cm

Late second/early third century

Part of the middle of a column from a papyrus roll written along the fibres. The back is blank. The script is an Informal round capital with much connection between letters and affinities with the Chancery Style, especially V-shaped γ with almost vertical left-hand side and flamboyant right arm arching up above the line and cursive κ (e.g. 227). The letters are slightly compressed vertically and show a slight inclination to the right. λ with round left-hand part. Δ with hook over top left and extended to the right at base-line. μ with deep rounded middle. Punctuation is by high point (224: squeezed in after the line was written). Acute accent (224), by same scribe. There is no opportunity to observe whether the scribe effected or marked elision. The hand is very similar to, but not identical with IV 689 (containing *Scut.* 466–80, late second century, assigned), perhaps slightly later, judged from shapes of ε, γ. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22 (XXVI 2441, Pindar, *Paeans*, second century, assigned) shows a similar hand written with slightly more formality. On literary texts in documentary, especially Chancery script, see T. Renner in *Pap. Cong. XXI* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) ii 827–34, whose comparisons suggest a date late in the second or early third centuries.

220 χρυσε]ον αμ[φι]   
 ωμοικ]ω δε μιν [   
 χαλκε]ου εκ τελα[μωνος]   
 παν δε] μεταφρενο[ν]   
 γοργου]ς· αμφι δέ μ[ιν]   
 225 αργυρέ]η θυκανοι δε [   
 χρυσειοι] δειν[[ου]]ή' . . [   
 κειτ Αι]δος κυν[εη]   
 αυτος δε ς]πευδο[ντι]   
 Περσευς] Δανα[ιδης]   
 230 Γοργονες α]πλη[-

222 χαλκε]ου: with B J F Z, correctly: χάλκεον b S.

226 δειν[[ου]]ή': The papyrus apparently had δεινον originally, subsequently corrected to δεινη, correctly. Apparently ο has been cancelled with a horizontal stroke through the middle, which extends into the υ (unless θ is to be read, copied by mistake from θυ- in the previous line, with the horizontal interpreted as the cross-bar of θ extending to the right, as it does in 225). A smaller η has been added above ο, perhaps by the same scribe. δεινοῦ (if it was the original reading) was probably intended to agree with ἄνακτος, in error.

. . : After ου the right arm of γ may continue to form the top of Δ, but is not convincingly compatible with δέ as expected. The second trace is a speck of ink on a dangling fibre.





in the measurements given above). κέ[μ]ενον is suggested by spacing, confirmed by the reconstructed positions of the line-beginnings below.

νε. [ : The surviving trace on the damaged edge is not certainly compatible with the transmitted νεούτατον, although the tradition records no variants here. The trace seems to show top of an upright in the upper left quadrant, with a diagonal connecting at the top as μ or ν, rather than the upper left quadrant of ο with stroke narrowing at top as elsewhere. But possibly the original shape is obscured by loss of ink at the edge.

Solmsen thought that a verse (c.g. μάργαντο κρατερῶς μεγάλῳ χθένει, ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἐκάστη) might have dropped after 253.

254 με]γαλον: γ is aligned more or less just beneath the second π in 253. Thus there is space for 9–10 letters to have preceded. The tradition offers here βάλλ' ὄνυχας, which has been variously supplemented to complete the sense: βάλλ(ον ὀμῶς) van Lennep (printed by Solmsen); βάλλ(ον ἔπειτ') Hermann; 'haplologian βάλλ' ὄνυχαλιτ E. Schwyzler'. The supplements necessitate the deletion of Ἄιδόδε later in the line for metrical reasons (so Hermann, though the line as written in the papyrus clearly had space for it), and various substitutions for κατῆεν (itself an emendation by Wolf: κατέειν ο) at line-end. It is uncertain whether the copying of a text of Lucian, *Dialogi deorum* 10.1 containing ὄνυχας on the back is related to its occurrence at *Scut.* 254 on the front, i.e. whether copied out as a lexical or textual parallel. It may simply be coincidental. In the text of *Scut.*, the Fates have not previously been said to be equipped with ὄνυχες; rather, they use their fangs (249 λευκοῦς . . . δδόντας) in order to drink the blood of humans. However ὄνυχας reappears at 263 (ἐν δ' ὄνυχας χεῖράς τε θραεΐας ἰώσαντο) and 266 in the description of Ἄχλός, 'Death' (μακροὶ δ' ὄνυχες χεῖρεσσ ὑπήσαν), both in a passage (258–63) included in the papyrus text but often suspected of being a later addition.

256 ἀδρο]μεόν' τον: After με a small V-shaped υ has been added suprascript in a pen and ink very like that of the main scribe, although the shape is very different. τ is written as ι originally ι, i.e. an upright in a letter space between ο and ο, of a width suitable for ι but too narrow for τ. If so, the scribe originally wrote οιον after ἀδρο(?)]με, then added υ above and changed ι to τ by adding an asymmetrical top-stroke.

258–63 were deleted by Kuenneth, and Schwarz similarly thought them to have been added by an interpolator. The papyrus shows their presence here (with the exception of 259).

258–60: 259 Ἄτροπος οὐ τι πέλεν μεγάλη θεός, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε is attested by the other witnesses, but is not present here. Both 259 and its surrounding lines have often been suspected. According to West as reported by Solmsen (app. crit. ad loc.), 258 might have originally ended ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε, while 259 might have ended with ἦ μὲν ὑφῆσσων, but the portion of the lines witnessed by the papyrus offers no evidence on this matter.

D. OBBINK

4667. HYMNI HOMERICI, XVIII 4–11, VII 1–11

18 2B.64/H(2)(a)

3.2 × 13.2 cm

Third century  
Platc VI

A narrow strip from a roll (writing along the fibres and back blank) carrying middle parts of Homeric Hymns 18 and 7, the shorter hymns to Hermes and Dionysus respectively. The script is an example of the Severe Style at its mature stage, slanting slightly to the right; descenders with gentle leftward curves at the foot, Δ with base horizontal tending to ascend to the right, Ν with broad diagonal joining the right vertical slightly above the foot, ω flat-based. A third-century date may be assigned.

The lectional signs in evidence consist of an apostrophc marking an elision, a high point serving punctuation purposes, two grave accents, a diacresis, and a hyphen (sublinear). All are probably the work of the original scribe, who also seems to be responsible for the correction in 13 (HH 7.7). Iota adscript is written in the single observable case.

Only a handful of papyri of Homeric hymns have been published: XXIII 2379 (HH 2.402–7) (III), IV 670 (III), and P. Gen. III 118 (II/I BC); for the last two see M. L. West, 'The Fragmentary Homeric Hymn to Dionysus', *ZPE* 134 (2001) 1–11, though cf. A. Dihle, 'Zu den Fragmenten eines Dionysos-Hymnus', *RhM* 145 (2002) 427–30. Cf. also BKT V.1 2, quoting verses from HH 2. It should be noted that the hand of 2379 is similar to but not the same as that of 4667.

The text has been collated with the editions of T. W. Allen (1912) and F. Càssola (1975). There are a number of odd novelties. The order of the hymns in the papyrus, with HH 7 following HH 18, does not seem to have been attested otherwise. It is possible that we have a new closure to HH 18, and a new version of the title of HH 7, but it is perhaps more likely that a prose text comes between the two hymns, in which case we may consider whether we have a fragment of a prose work quoting the two hymns. See further 9 n. and 10 n.

This papyrus has been referred to, in advance of publication, by M. L. West in his Loeb edition of the *Homeric Hymns* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), with the siglum *IT*<sup>3</sup>.

	θυγατη]ρ Δι[ο]ς εἰ [	xviii 4
	] δε θεω[ν	5
	ναιεταουσ]α πολυ[σκιω	6
	ευπλοκα]μωι μις[γεσκετο	7
5	υ]πνος ε[χοι	8
	αθαν]ατους τε [	9
	χ]αιρε Διος κ[αι	10
	αρξ[αμ]ενος μετα[βησομαι	11
	] . αι εστι δ . [	
10	] σον ὑμν[	
	Σ]εμελης [	vii 1
	εφα]νη πα[ρα	2
	] νεῖ[ι]υ[ιη	3
	] περισε[ιοντο	4
15	δ]ε περι στιβ[αροις	5
	] δ' ανδρε[ς	6
	προγενο]ντο θοως [	7
	-γ]ε κακος μο[ρος	8
	αλλη]λους ταχ[α	9
20	σφετερ]ης νηο[ς	10
	εφα]ντο διο[τρεφειων	11

3 (HH 18.6) πολυ[κκω with J]: παλικκίω all other MSS. The banalisation attested in J may now be shown to have its roots in antiquity.

7–9 HH 18 as transmitted ends:

καὶ εὖ μὲν οὖτω χαίρει, Διὸς καὶ Μαϊάδος υἱέ,	10
σεὺ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.	11
χαῖρ' Ἐρμῆ χαριδῶτα, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων.	12

HH 18.2–9 reproduce HH 4 (the longer Hymn to Hermes) 2–9 with minor variations, while HH 18.10–11 correspond to HH 4.579–80 (10 verbatim, 11 in substance). HH 18.12 has no parallel in the longer hymn, and it has been possible to regard 10–11 (del. West) and 12 (del. Ilgen) as doublets. The papyrus certainly contained 10–11. Its next line (9) did not offer any recognizable form of verse 12.

9 ] αι εετι δ. ]: On the left-hand edge, the right-hand tip of a high horizontal, i.e. ρ or τ, less likely π. After ] αι, there is apparently space for word-division. Then, it is hard to read λ in place of the putative λ (Εετία would be a very difficult reading); the left-hand oblique and remains of the base horizontal do not form the characteristic sharp lower left angle of λ. At the end of the line, remains of an upright slanting to right, joining a curved top at upper right: in the context, this may be ε, though ρ cannot be excluded entirely (but ι is not possible).

10 ] κον ὕμν]: 11 ff. contain the beginning of HH 7, the shorter Hymn to Dionysus. 10 might then be read as a title to this. The MSS give: τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς Διόνυσον M; εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον β; Διόνυσος ἢ ληεταί x D ed. pr. One may consider reading εἰς Διόνυσ]κον ὕμν]ος, though the word order is not the expected one.

Another possibility is that 9 and 10 belong together, and contain prose, perhaps a prose transition from the one hymn to the other. But if we are dealing with a prose work that quoted the Hymns, we would hardly expect them to be quoted in extenso, whereas here it is clear that HH 18 was copied complete, and of HH 7 at least the first part. But then again, we would not expect hexameters quoted in such a work to be written in full line-width. And would the prose have been written in hexameter-length lines? One may of course hypothesize that the prose was written in *eisthesis* and in shorter lines, cf. the layout of the Lille Callimachus (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 75).

13 (HH 7.3) νεή||ι||ν[ιη: νεηήη codd. plerique: νεανή ET. The scribe initially seems to have written νεηι as a dative, then (*currente calamo?* or someone else later?) crossed ι through and clarified the articulation by adding grave accents, to indicate that the syllables bearing them were not accented, and a sublinear hyphen. Also, a dot was added above ι; it may be of the expunging kind, supplementing the role of the cancelling stroke (cf. e.g. *Il.* 6.99 in P. Lond. Lit. 13, reproduced in *ZPE* 112 (1996) Taf. X). Another dot was written at the top left of the second gravis, so that the latter now appears flanked by two dots. One may consider whether the two dots cancel the second gravis, but there is no obvious reason why this should be so. If the two dots are to be taken separately, the function of the dot placed before the gravis is unclear.

18 (HH 7.8) -γ]ε: ηγε β; ηγαγε all other mss. Considerations of space, supported by a tracing, suggest that the papyrus had ηγ]ε.

N. GONIS

**4668.** [HOMER,] *BATRACHOMYOMACHIA* 41, 53–8

39 3B.76/B(1)a

Fr. 1 3 × 3.7 cm  
Fr. 2 2 × 5.2 cm

Late second / early third century

Two fragments, broken on all sides, from a roll containing documents on the front and remnants of eight lines with vv. 41, 53–8 of the *Batrachomyomachia* on the back. They seem to be the first attestation on papyrus of this mock epic, which in all probability was composed in the Hellenistic period and was later ascribed to Homer. Another, but more ancient, Homeric apocryphon, the burlesque *Margites*, has appeared in Oxyrhynchus in three separate copies (XXII 2309, LIX 3963, 3964).

The manuscript tradition of the *Batrachomyomachia* is bewildering, and most editors have doubted the possibility of reaching the original text. The edition of A. Ludwich (Leipzig 1896) gives full collations of seventy-five manuscripts; T. W. Allen, *Homeric Opera* v (Oxford [OCT] 1912) 161 ff., provides a more selective apparatus, based on Ludwich but with some further collations of his own. Recent editors have agreed in distinguishing two branches of the tradition far enough apart to count as different recensions: *a* (= PQYT) and *l* (= LJF), of which *l* is heavily interpolated. (See most recently M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns; Homeric Apocrypha; Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass./London [LCL] 2003) 232–9, with mention of this papyrus on p. 232.) The edition of R. Gleis, *Die Batrachomyomachie: Synoptische Edition und Kommentar* (Frankfurt 1984) publishes recension *a* and recension *l* on facing pages, and cites six other manuscripts which he believes to contaminate the two traditions, including the earliest, Z (tenth century).

In collating this papyrus, we have used Gleis's sigla and apparatus, but added some information from Allen; the supplements printed *exempli gratia* come from the text of *a* as printed by Gleis. Our fragments seem to side mostly with *a*; it omits 42–52, included in *l*, but generally considered as a Byzantine interpolation. Cf. H. Wölke, *Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachie* (Meisenheim a. Glan 1978) 19 and 40 n. 112.

It is disconcerting that the tops of letters that survive of line 8 at the bottom edge of the papyrus appear not to accord with the expected v. 59, ἀμφίβιον γὰρ ἔδωκε νομῆν (ζωήν α) βατράχοις Κρονίων, nor has a computer search of possible three- or four-letter combinations (see 8 n.) placed the line anywhere else in the *Batrachomyomachia*.

The text has been copied in an average-sized upright round informal hand written rather cursorily. ε, θ, ο and c are narrow, μ and λ rather large, while x has serifs at its lower extremities. In general appearance the hand somewhat resembles that of XXVI 2441 (= *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22) which has been assigned to the second century. However, the script of 4668 is less bilinear and shows more ligatures and in general more documentary influence. We are inclined to assign it to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. There are no accents, punctuation, or other lectional signs.

The front of fr. 1 contains remnants of 6 lines in a second-century documentary hand. The front of fr. 2 has traces of 5 lines in a different and much thinner documentary hand. Fr. 2, however, is composed of two layers stuck together, which we have not risked trying to separate. The different hand on the back of fr. 2 may indicate a repair patch, or fr. 2 is from a kollesis made when discarded documents were assembled in a roll, or we are dealing with a *tomos synkollesimos*.

κ]οσμουντες χυτρ[αc αρτυμασι παντοδαποισιν	41
ο]ν τραγω ρεφαν[αc ου κ]ραμ[βα]ς [ου κολοκυνθας	53
ου]δε πρασοις χλ[ωροις] επιβ[ο]ς[κομαι ουδε σελινοις	54
ταυτα γα]ρ υμετε[ρ ες]τιν εδεσμα[τα των κατα λιμνην	55
5 . . . . .] ταδε μ[ειδης]αc Φυσιγ[ναθος αντιον ηυδα	56

ξείνε λιγν αυχεις ε]πι γαστερ[ι εστι και ημιν 57  
 πολλα γαρ εν λιμνη κ]αι επι χθο[νι θαυματ ιδεσθαι 58  
 c.15 ] . . . . . [

2 (53) ρεφαν[αc with a (YT<sup>1</sup>): ραφάνουc a (PY) l.

3 (54) ου]δε with a (QT) X Z: οὐ a (PY) l.

πράζοιc with a l (XS<sup>2</sup>): τεύτλοιc l, except πλεύτλοιc F [so Glci; Allen gives τεύτλοιc for this MS, = V<sup>3</sup>] and  
 ceύτλοιc S.

4 (55) υμετε[ρ with a: ὑμῶν l.

5 (56) . . . . . ] ταδε: πρὸc τὰδε a l: πρὸc τὰτα Z (and many others; see Allen): πρὸc τὰτα δέ X (so Ludwig): τὰτα δέ Vi<sup>3</sup> marg. (so Allen). In the papyrus, the first trace suggests γ rather than c, and the spacing suggests word division between a and δ. τα]ῦτα δέ would suit these indications, and the metre, but leave a space of c.4 letters at the line beginning. It seems then that the papyrus may have had πρὸc τα]ῦτα δέ. If so, it is remarkable to find this unmetrical reading attested so early.

6 (57) Unidentifiable trace, below τ in 5 (56). Washed-out letter between ι and γ.

7 (58) επι χθο[νι with a X: ἐν χθονί l.

8 These traces pose a puzzle; see introd. Tops of six or seven letters are visible. The first trace is no more than a speck. A tall vertical, rather paler than the ink elsewhere, suggests φ as the second letter. Next, λ or less likely γ. Next, linked c1 or n. Then a rounded top, most likely o or c, but e or o might also be possible. The last trace, a high horizontal turning sharply down and backwards at its right end, I cannot explain other than as z (if so, o before is excluded, and obviously there are other impossible combinations).

A. WOUTERS

### III. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

#### a. SCRIBAL PRACTICE AND DRAFT

#### 4669. WRITING EXERCISE

26 3B.53/D (1-3) b

14.5 × 4.2 cm

First/second century?  
 Plate IX

On one side of this piece, small remains of two columns (line-ends and beginnings only), written along the fibres in a literary script; the line-ends are regular enough to suggest prose. There may be a sheet-join, which would prove that this was the original recto, but the surface is too damaged for certainty. The writing, so far as one can judge from this small sample, belongs to the first century AD or later: note the capital λ, and the wide τ, with its stem sometimes written in one movement with the left-hand part of the horizontal, sometimes as a curve descending from the right-hand end of the horizontal.

On the other side, also along the fibres, writing practice in two scripts. The original right-hand margin may survive; the papyrus is broken off on the other three sides. Lines 2 and 4 are the same, the end of a hexameter which has a clear likeness to, but is not identical with, several surviving verses. Line 3 has not been identified.

Line 3 represents a large, heavily shaded round hand, suggesting a primitive Biblical Uncial but differing from the 'canon' in its ornamental serifs and the forms of λ (capital, cross-bar horizontal) and of ρ (the second example, at least, curtailed to fit the bilinear space). Compare XVIII 2169, assigned to the late second century by Lobel and to the early third by Cavallo (*Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* i 31 with tav. 9b). The letters average 10 mm in height, twice the size of Cavallo's largest examples: practical as practice, but not for actual book-production.

Lines 2 and 4 show a smaller more oval hand of the same general type, the ornamentation very conspicuous, suggesting a primitive version of the Roman Uncial (notice ε with closed top); λ with long pointed nose, as used for initials in documents, takes away from the ambitious intention. The closed ε and pointed λ (but not so exaggeratedly pointed as here) appear in other texts identified by Cavallo, *ASNP*, ser. 2, 36 (1967) 212f., as precursors of the canonical Roman Uncial (for similar scripts with closed ε add XLVII 3325, XXXVII 2818, XXXII 2623). He assigns them to the mid-first century, others have opted for late first or first/second; we have no objectively dated item to act as signpost (the best is P. Fay. 7, *GLH* 9b, found with documents of Augustan date, but that is much squarer and more awkward). Thus attempts to date the two styles lead to widely disparate results.

The interest of 4669 lies not in dating, but in its significance for scribal training. The three lines are regularly arranged, and could come from the same pen. On the face of it, then, we see one scribe practising on one page alternative versions of the formal round

style — versions that anticipate the two formal round book-hands of the second century. Whether the sense of tentativeness says something about the date, or just about the writer's dexterity, remains unclear.

. . . . .  
 ] . . [     ] . . . [     ] . [     ]  
 ] . ΟΝΕΟΙΚΟΤΕΣΑΙΘ . . . . . ΣΙΝ     [  
 ] ΡΟΝΟΡΟCΛΑ . [  
 ] ΟΝΕΟΙΚΟΤΕΣΑΙΘΥΙ . ΣΙ [  
 ] . [

1 Specks only.

2 ] , κ or x. θ . . . , first, ink level with letter-tops and then point at line-level; third, apparent foot of upright and then another hooked to the right at the base.

2 and 4 combine to give ] . ον εοικότες αιθύνειν. Plainly a hexameter end, but not identical with any transmitted line. Compare:

*Il.* 7.59 ἐξέσθην ὄρνειν εοικότες αἰγυπιοῖσιν

*Od.* 5.337, 353 / αἰθύνῃ (δ) εὔκεια

'Hom.' *Eph.* 8.2 [cd. D.B. Monro, 1896] πτωκάειν αἰθύνει βίον δύζηλον ἔχοντες [so *Vita Herodotea* 263; -ειν ἰὸν *Vita Suidae* 132]

AR 4.966 --- ἀλίγκαι αἰθύνειν

Aratus, *Phaen.* 296 --- ἵκελοι δὲ κολυμβίειν αἰθύνειν.

At the beginning, ]κον or ]χον. Perhaps a verb, and a verse on the pattern of εἰναλαίαις ἕζε]κον εοικότες αἰθύνειν. QS 8.89 . . . ὑπόεικον εοικότες . . . .

3 ΛΑ . [ , λ clear, assuming that further ink (or stains) to the upper right is accidental; at the end, the upper arc of a round letter. Therefore not καί, which would have fitted HHApoll. 17 κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον or the like (AR 4.323, Orph. Arg. 1123). If this is another hexameter, we might expect the caesura to fall in or just before the preserved letters. QS 13.488 ἡύτ' ὄρος λαίειν ἄδην καταειμένον ὕλης does not suit this pattern.

4 1 , an upright with its foot hooked to the left; an upright with its foot hooked to the right. Η is expected, but I see no trace of the cross-bar, unless it lay in the narrow band of damaged fibres visible at one-third height.

P. J. PARSONS

#### 4670. NOTICE

40 5B.116/H(1-5)a

15 × 13 cm

Fourth century  
Plate IX

On one side of this piece, and written along the fibres, we have the foot of a column of accounts (3 ]νω αρτοκοπω . [ , 5 ] . ω (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀε). Line 2 provides the date ]κς και ιθ και ι . [ , i.e. 20 Diocletian and 19 Maximian (before 19 Maximian was changed to 20; see Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 70), AD 303-4.

On the other side, and also written along the fibres, is a notice in large ambitious letters, set off by substantial margins above and to the left and right; three lines, plus traces of a fourth line where the papyrus breaks off at the foot. The left edge, and part of the right, may be original; the top edge too is broken, so that in theory there might have been more matter above the present margin.

'Good luck to Pergamios: have a good day.' What kind of notice was this? It might be a doodle, and elaborately written for that reason. It might be a covering note for a (birthday?) present: compare the bottle-top in the Ashmolean, presumably from a wedding gift, which carries the ink inscription εὐτυχῶς τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ [τ]ῷ νυμφίῳ (O. Ashm. Shelton 196). It might be a draft for a poster or placard: for a private individual? or for some public personality (εὐτυχῶς regularly in acclamations, see 1 note, and regularly attached to ἐπιδημεῖν in reference to visits of officials, e.g. VIII 1103 4 [= WChr 465], XII 1456 9).

The script is in intention bilinear, with the notional parallels emphasized by ornament (blobs, hooks, serifs) at top and bottom. ε in three movements; μ straight-sided, the bow angular; γ in two movements, the strokes crossing close to the base-line; ω wide, in three movements, with only a small central concavity.

The most striking feature is alpha in the capital shape, its cross-bar in the form of a V (two movements?) almost touching the base-line. This form, the 'broken-bar alpha', certainly has a long history in stone-inscriptions. It goes back at least to the later third century BC (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* i (1967) 380; Stephen V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 BC* (1990) 238), and continues common in Late Antique inscriptions (cf. 4671). For Egypt, Dr W. E. H. Cockle refers me to his discussion in D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps . . . iv* (1996) 1-2, where he quotes dated examples from the inscriptions in Breccia, *Catalogue générale*; he notes also numerous examples in F. Kayser, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (I<sup>er</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-C.)*. It seems natural to think that those who use this shape in pen-writing aim at monumental effect. Compare the 'lapidary A' of the 'Order of Peukestas' (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 79, and *SC* 4 (1980) 26), but there the cross-bar is more cursively written as a single concave stroke.

ΕΥΤΥΧΩC  
 ΠΕΡΓΑΜΙΩ  
 ΚΑΛΗΗΜΕΡΑ  
 Τ . . . . . [

1 εὐτυχῶς could be used absolutely, as e.g. in VIII 1108 1 (6th/7th century) as heading to a list of officials. But it is often linked to a dative, as e.g. in the reconstructed colophon of the school-book P. Bouriant 1 (R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) no. 393) γένοιτο εὐτυχῶς τῶι [τοῦτο εἰ]χοντι καὶ τῶι [σπουδῆι ἀ]γαγιγνώσκοντι κτλ. (cf. εὐτυχῶς τῶι γράφοντι καὶ τῶι ἀναγιγνώσκοντι in Christian epitaphs). One common use is in acclamations: I 41 = WChr 45 εὐτυχῶς τῶι καθολικῶι etc.; XLVII 3340 15; O. Mich I 663.

2 Περγαμίω. The name is not uncommon in itself. If we look for a grandee to be acclaimed, I find only

Flavius Pompeius Pergamius, *praeses Thebaidis* 375–6 (*PLRE* i 688, tentatively identified with the *Comes Orientis* Pergamius attested in the 380s). The date suits; but Oxyrhynchus is not obviously in his jurisdiction.

3 *καλή ἡμέρα*: presumably nominative. This is the earliest example I have found of the phrase, which reappears as Modern Greek *καλημέρα*. This too might attract a dative: compare Constantine Porphyrogenitus *de caerimoniis* i p. 599 and often, the court greeting *καλή ἡμέρα ὑμῖν, ἄρχοντες*.

P. J. PARSONS

#### 4671. TABULA ANSATA

100/171(a)

11 × 4.7 cm

Fifth century?  
Plate X

This scrap probably preserves the original edges to the left and at the foot, but is broken off, quite neatly, above and to the right. Written across the fibres, although the back is blank. The writing was enclosed in an outline *tabula ansata*, of which the lower left corner remains; the surviving word was followed by a Greek cross drawn in double outline (the extremities expanded by trapezoidal finials), whose upright is now halved by the break. If we can assume symmetry, the original *tabula* must have been about 5 cm high, and the strip about 7 cm high, with room only for the one line of writing; the original width cannot be estimated, since we do not know whether the cross ended the text, or served as a divider. The size certainly suggests an independent item, rather than (say) the title or end-title of a book, though the *tabula* form is known also from such contexts (e.g. XVII 2084 end).

The surviving word, *Ἀρκαδιης*, is written in rough capitals about one cm high. The writing is irregular; some strokes have been overwritten, giving a blotchy effect, and the lower line of the frame was written in consecutive shorter strokes, badly joined and sometimes overlapping. Only one letter-form is really notable: the alpha with V-shaped cross-bar, on which see 4670 introduction.

The cross points to a date in the Christian period. The only other clue is the name, which might in principle refer (1) to a person or (2) to the Egyptian province or more remotely (3) to old Arcadia in Greece. As to (1), the name is not uncommon; but Dr Gonis points especially to the princess (daughter of the emperor Arcadius) who owned estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome (P. Med. II 64, AD 440, cf. 4688 2 n.; L 3582, AD 442; *PLRE* ii 129). As to (2), the province, of which Oxyrhynchus was the capital, was created at some time between 386 and 397/9; see LXIII 4385 introd. [p. 94]. But there is the further question of the function of this piece. The script, the frame, and the cross suggest an inscription (in itself, or as a draft for a stone-cutter). The Ionic ending *-ης* might suggest verse; that is not to be relied on, see Gignac ii 3 f. for *-ας/-ης* in documentary texts of the Roman and early Byzantine period. Should we think of an inscription honouring Arcadia or a governor of Arcadia? or (as Dr Coles suggests) of a draft, or substitute, mummy-label?

ΑΡΚΑΔΙΗΣ[

P. J. PARSONS

#### b. MAGIC

#### 4672. EROTIC MAGICAL FORMULARY

84/59 (a)

10.6 × 13.5 cm

Third/fourth century  
Plate X

This love spell belongs to the type *ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική*, designed to cause the beloved insomnia until she consents. A number of comparable texts belong to this category: PGM IV 2944–66, VII 374–6 (incantation with a seashell, cf. 4674 1 and n.), XII 376–96, LII 20–6; cf. C. A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, Mass. 1999) 26 n. 114, 65–6. Δ stands for *δεῖνα* (see 3 note), which replaces the personal names of the people involved in the actual spell and indicates that 4672 was a formulary, i.e. used as a model in copying spells (see 3 n.). Note the *addenda lexicis* in 5, 10–11.

The spell is written in a rather informal hand with sporadic ligatures, slightly slanting to the right, roughly bilinear, apart from the uprights of *ι*, *ρ*, *τ*, *φ* and the letter *ξ*, which tends to protrude above and below the baseline. Ornamentation is not particularly emphasized; however, it is worth noting that the lower extremities of uprights often have a leftward hook, except for the right-hand uprights of *η* and *π*, which have a rightward hook. Not dissimilar is the hand of XLVIII 3368 (Menander, *Misoumenos*), assigned to the third century.

No accents. Diaeresis in 4 (visible above lost letter). In 1, 2, 10, and 11 there are short diagonal strokes high in the line (indicated by ' in the text below), functioning as word- or sense- or cola-dividers; cf. 4674 and 1 n. below. An itacistic spelling occurs in line 2. After 15 there is a forked paragraphus, presumably marking end of the spell.

Written along the fibres; the back is blank. On the right, a few letters before line-ends, there is a kollesis. The upper margin is partially preserved for 1.4 cm; the left margin is preserved for 1 cm. The line ends run to the edge of the sheet.

Νύξ 'Εκάτη 'Εκάτη δέ μου' ἄγγελος  
 ἔστω' καὶ πορευθεῖσα καὶ σταθίσα  
 πρὸς κεφαλῆς τῆς δ(εῖνος) ἧς ἔτεκεν  
 ἢ δ(εῖνα) περίελε αὐτῆς τὸν [ῥ]πνον  
 5 ἕως ἔξαπαπηδήσασα ἔλθη πρὸς  
 ἐμὲ τὸν δ(εῖνα) τῆς δ(εῖνος) φιλοῦσά με καὶ ἀ-  
 γαπῶσά με καὶ ζῆτ[οῦς]ά μου τῆ(ν)  
 συνουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆ[ς ζω]ῆς αὐ-  
 τῆς χρόνον ἀτρακ[ 2–3 ]τα  
 10 τρακὰ τέτρακῶν' τρετρ[α]υ-

λάκτ[α] ἀγρυπνειτ[.] . . . [ 2-3 ]  
 φ[ι][λουσά μ]ε και ἀγαπῶ[κά με τὸν δ(εῖνα)]  
 τῆς [δ(εῖνος) και ζῆτο[ύσά μου τῆν]  
 ζυ[ουσία]ν ἐπ[ὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς]  
 15 αὐ[τῆς πάντα χρόνον]

1 μού': right-hand side of Υ extended in separate movement 2 I. *κραθεῖσα* 3, 4, 6 Δ; 1. ἦν  
 7 τῆ 4 ['] 9 After χρόνον blank 1 cm wide

'Night, Hecate, let Hecate be my messenger, and hurry up and stand beside the head of NN, whom NN bore, and take the sleep from her until she jumps up and comes to me NN, whom NN bore, loving me and desiring me and seeking intercourse with me for the duration of her life. (*Voces magicae*) with four dog-faces, fourfold barker, let NN, whom NN bore(?), be sleepless, loving me and desiring me NN, whom NN bore, and seeking intercourse with me for all the duration of her life.'

1 For Νύξ invoked as a goddess in an erotic context cf. the opening of Men., *Mis. δ Νύξ, εὐ γὰρ δὴ πλείστον Ἀφροδίτης μέρος / μετέχει θεῶν*, belonging to the well-known *topos* of the lover addressing the night or other natural elements to confess his love-sufferings (Plaut. *Mer.* 3 ff. *non ego item facio ut alios in comediis / <vi> vidi amoris facere, qui aut Nocti aut Die / aut Soli aut Lunae miserias narrat suas*); cf. also P. Ant. I 15.4-7, probable comedy by Menander (see W. G. Arnott, *ZPE* 125 (1999) 61-4), A. W. Gomme, F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (1973) 442, and D. Del Corno, 'Due note sulla commedia nuova: 2. Il motivo dell'invocazione alla notte nella commedia nuova', *Grazer Beiträge* 9 (1980) 72-7.

Hecate is one of several deities whose worship is connected with ἀγωγή spells; see Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* 133. Hecate is here associated with Νύξ (cf. PGM IV 2855 ff., a comparable series of invocations in a prayer to Selene which occupies lines 2785-890, and Suppl. Mag. I 49 back 64-74). This is consistent with her frequent assimilation with Persephone, Selene and Artemis by syncretism (see e.g. Suda, s.v. Ἐκάτη· οἱ μὲν Ἄρτεμιν, οἱ δὲ Κελήνην, PGM IV 2815-25); note the epithet τετρακόρη referred to Hecate in G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin 1878) 406.11; cf. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* 141-2, and S. I. Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1999) 203-49. With regard to the relationship with the night, note also the epithets νυκταροδύτεια (PGM IV 2546), νυκτιβόη (PGM IV 2808), and νυχία (PGM VII 882).

For the short diagonal strokes functioning as word- or sense-dividers, here and in 2, 10 and 11, cf. LV 3812 5 n. Add PSI I 65, cf. M. Manfredi, *Miscellanea Papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig* 185; Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEPP* no. 4b, LVI 3825 introd. para. 3, 3827 introd. para. 2, 3842, 3843, LX 4022, LXVII 4554, T. Varie XVIII 9, P. Leid. Inst. no. 5 at p. 8, n. 2 (with more), no. 16 at p. 93 (at ends of sentences), as well as 4674.

ἄγγελος. The function and the representation of Hecate as an ἄγγελος, in connection with her aspect as a chthonic deity (i.e. as mediator between the human world and the underworld) is well attested in classical literature: see e.g. H. H. Cser 52 ἀγγελοῦσα. ἄγγελος as an alternative name for her is attested in Sophron, *PCG* 1 Sophron fr. \*7 Ἐκάτα . . . ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῆ θεῖσθαι Ἄγγελον; cf. Hesych. s.v., who refers the name to Artemis as worshipped in Syracuse Ἄγγελον Κυρακούσιοι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λέγουσιν; cf. Audollent, *DT* nos. 74-5; see also F. Sokolowski, 'Sur le culte d'angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain', *HTR* 53 (1960) 225-9. In 4672 Hecate is summoned to be the personal messenger of the performer, i.e. the actual agent of the spell. This seems to be fully consistent with the fact that in magical papyri both ἄγγελοι and δαίμονες are invoked to perform spells without any clear distinctions, and often are qualified as 'gods', as in PGM I 42-195, where the invoked ἄγγελος is also referred to as 'the god' throughout the text (cf. J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets* (New York and Oxford 1992) 12).

It has to be observed that Hecate is mentioned in the third person singular in 1-2, but addressed in the second

person of the imperative (περίελε) in 4. For such a switch one may compare the ἀγωγή in PGM IV 2441-621, where Hecate is summoned first in the third person (2471-4) and then in the second person (2484-92).

The text from Νύξ to ἔστω (1-2) presents a dactylic rhythm. (The diagonal dividing-strokes might be relevant, i.e. marking metrical cola or cadences?) A hexametric pattern appears in a number of magical papyri: PGM III 550-8, IV 2714-83 (hymn in dactylic hexameters), LII 2-4; cf. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* 142-6. Metrical sections in magical texts often present oddities and irregularities due to the ignorance of the scribe and/or mistakes in the process of copying from models; see Faraone, *CP* 90 (1995) 13; D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 245-59, esp. 256-7; W. M. Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri', in *ANRW* II.18.5, 3420-2; cf. Suppl. Mag. II 71 fr. 22.4, p. 105 n., LXV 4468 verso col. i 1-17, 18-26 nn.

2 ff. Cf. PGM IV 2735-6 *στάντες ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς δεῖνα ἀφέλεσθε αὐτῆς τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον*.

3 Cf. 4, 6, etc. For the symbol Δ cf. e.g. LXV 4468 and LXVIII 4674. It is used to indicate the person performing the spell and his target in magical handbooks, as in PGM I 254 and 261, II 341 and 567 (the magician), IV 3013 (the person exorcised). In the actual performance of the spell, it was to be replaced by the personal names of the people involved, i.e. the practitioner and the target. Texts such as 4672 were used as models by scribes who often copied the individual spells leaving a blank space (instead of Δ) to be filled later with the personal names of the peoples involved in the charm, so that they may subsequently look cramped and crowded, as in the inscribed gold phylactery published by C. A. Faraone and R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 257-66, at 257; see F. Maltomini, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 160, and Audollent, *DT* no. 230.

5 *ἐξαπατηθήσασα: harfax*; the simpler compound ἀναπηδάω occurs only once in magical papyri, PGM I 93 (*ἀνεπήδησε*, referred to a deity), while ἐκπηδάω occurs in a number of comparable erotic spells, PGM XIXa 51, XXXVI 71, Suppl. Mag. I 40.18, 42.17 and 38, 45.46, 48 J 10.

9-10 Sequence of *voces magicae*? The following word τετρακύων (10) is not attested elsewhere. It suggests an epithet for Hecate, the deity addressed in 1. The association of Hecate with dogs is well attested, both in literary sources and in magical papyri. In Eur. *TGF*<sup>2</sup> 968 the dog is defined Ἐκάτης ἀγαλμα φωσφόρου. Hecate is represented as surrounded by dogs in Apoll. Rhod. III 1216-7, Lycophron 1176, Hor. *S.* i.8.35, Verg. *Aen.* 6.257; dogs form her cortège (*TGF* II Adesp. F 375), and she is qualified by epithets like κυνηγέτις (Orph. *h.* 36.5), κυλακάγεια (PGM IV 2722), κυλακίτις (Orph. *h.* 1.5, 36.12), φιλοκύλαξ (Nonn. *Dionys.* 3.74), and summoned as κύων μέλαινα (PGM IV 1434), ἰσπαρθενος κύων (PGM IV 2251) and κυνώ (PGM IV 2279); cf. also Suppl. Mag. II 57 1 n., where the epithet προκύνη referred to Hecate may be interpreted as 'dog-leader', and S. I. Johnston, *Hecate Soteira* (Atlanta 1990) 134-42 (chapter IX 'The Chaldean Dacmon-dogs'). For artistic representation see *LIMC* VI.1 994-5. Note also that the praxis of a love-spell in PGM IV 1872-1927 involves the use of wax images of dogs (cf. PGM IV 2943-66). For a full examination of the association of Hecate with dogs see D. Colomo, 'Hecate, Anubi e i cani negli incantesimi erotici su papirio', paper delivered at the XXIII International Congress of Papyrology (Vienna, July 2001), forthcoming in the *Akten* of that congress.

The basic sense of τετρακύων might be 'with four dogs', 'accompanied by four dogs'. However, τετρα- is the first element of epithets of Hecate in PGM IV 2817-18, τετραπρόσωπε and τετραοδίτις, the latter referring to her function of protecting *quadriuvia*. This suggests an alternative and more striking translation of τετρακύων, 'with four dog-faces'. Cf. *τετρη[α]υλάκτ[α]* following, and Ov. *Fast.* 1.141-2 *ora videt Hecates in tres vertentia partes, servet ut in ternas compila secla vias*, where the statue of Hecate *triformis* at the street junction presents a face looking in each of the three directions.

Epithets for Hecate with the numeral three occur more frequently, so that 4672 contains the less common epithet type. Cf. *τρίμορφος* (e.g. in Charilides fr. I, PGM XXXVI 190), *τρικάρανε* (PGM IV 1402, 2525, 2546, 2725, 2747 f., 2796 f., 2821), *τριπρόσωπος* (Artemid. *Onir.* 2.37, PGM IV 2119, 2880), *τρικέφαλος* (*Sch.* Lycophr. 1176), *τρισκεφάλος* (Orph. *Arg.* 975-7), *τριοδίτις* (Charilides fr. I, PGM IV 2727). For the artistic representation of Hecate *triformis* see *LIMC* VI.1 998-1006, 1009-18. In the descriptions of Hecate *τριπρόσωπος* in PGM IV 2119 ff. and 2280 ff. only one face (her left, in each case) is that of a dog, whereas in the present text all four faces are the same.

10-11 *τετρη[α]υλάκτ[α]*. This is a new word. Υ is no more than a faint smudge of ink, and *τετρη[.]* would better fill the space, but with clear *λακτ-* following and in the dog context begun at *τετρακύων* the new compound

looks compelling. Simple ἰλάκτης is not in LSJ<sup>9</sup> or Suppl. but is recorded from Greg. Naz. by Sophocles *Lexicon* and Lampe, transl. 'barker'; a quadruple version, here in the vocative, would be singularly appropriate, linked to τετρακύων (itself a new word) in the preferred sense ('with four dog-faces') proposed above in 9–10 n.

11 The line may well have run ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἢ Δ τ[ης Δ], i.e. ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἢ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνος, but this cannot be confirmed from the scanty traces.

14–15 For the restoration, see above 8–9 n. and cf. e.g. PGM XII 396 ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἢ δεῖνα δι' ὄλης νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας.

D. COLOMO

#### 4673. EROTIC MAGICAL SPELL

84/68(a)

12.8 × 27.3 cm

Late fourth/early fifth century  
Plate XI

Two fragments from a sheet containing a drawing and at least 33 lines. The writing runs along the fibres, in a now light-brown ink; the back is blank. The text is an invocation of a deity to seduce a woman; the spell is clearly erotic, cf. lines 27–28. In addition to the drawing, the papyrus has *characteres* and *vores magicae*, including a long palindrome (15–17). The spell is to be classified as an ἀγωγή, reflecting the coercive intentions of the commissioner, i.e. literally dragging the desired person out of her home (C. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, Mass. 1999), csp. 25–8, 41–95; D. F. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri* (diss. Ann Arbor 1975) 27 f.). The presence of personal names and the horizontal folding-marks indicate that the papyrus was written as an individual spell for the purpose of activation rather than as a formulary, i.e. part of a hand-book.

The magical figure seems to represent Seth, depicted here as an ass-headed human figure, equipped with a whip (an item that was commonly used to represent an angry deity) and a spear or, less probably, a torch. In view of the mythical tradition around Seth, Isis, and Osiris, the role of this deity in coercive erotic magical spells is self evident. Seth's mythology is a mirror reflection of the desires and objectives of the common commissioner of love spells: the destruction of an existing relationship, even by harming the beloved party, and bringing about a sexual union to the immediate benefit of the commissioner (PGM LXXVIII 1–14). Furthermore the ass characteristics attributed to Seth, especially the boundless sexuality, may add to our understanding of the role of this deity in erotic spells.

There are no lectional signs. Orthography is poor, with lack of distinction between long and short vowels, e.g. between ω and ο and between ε and η; και occurs twice for σε. The rough uneven semi-cursive script is carelessly executed, with substantial running of ink. A comparable hand is P. Köln III 151 (*GBEP* 14a) deed of loan, dated to 423.

ωτορ⊗κ>|ελιθν

γω ÷ ε

οηο

ιω

ουυ

αα

5

αε

ιι

οε

οο

υα (drawing)

υυ

υυ

αα

οο

ιι

10

εω

εε

θθ

αα

ηη

υυ

αα

αα

ιι

15

ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθηλαν

ρικριφιαευ[εαιφιρικριναλ]ηθο

ννομενερφα[βω]εαι

ξξορκίζω και [...]υσο.[...]υσο

ν[...]τωνικ[...]...[ c.5 ]

20

...[.]ε και τη ...[.]ησε [...]

[...]ηγανικον[ c.10 ]

[...]α.τον [ c.10 ]

[...]η]ν ἔτεκε[ε]ν Εἰσι[δώρα? c.5 ]

[...]...[ ]

25

.....[.]...[ ]

αὐτήν τῷ Ἐλένω ὃν ἔτεκεν

Ταπιαμ ἔστ' ἂν χίλησιν χίλη[α]

συνάψουσιν καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τῷ

μέλανι ὅτι ξξορκίζω και κατ[α]

30

τῆς κρατεᾶς Ἀνά(γ)κης μας{ε}κε[λλι]

μασκελλωφνουκενταβα[ωθ]

ορεοβα{ε}ζαγρ(α)ρηξιχθωνιπ

ποχθωνυπ...τ.υγααυ...

18 l.  $\epsilon\epsilon$  23 l. Ἰσιδώρα 27 l. χείλεσιν χείλεα 28 l. συνάψωσι? 29 l.  $\epsilon\epsilon$   
30 l. κραταιὰς

‘(voces magicæ) (18 ff.) I adjure you . . . (23) (whom) Isidora(?) bore . . . (26) her to Helenus, whom Tapiam bore, until they join together lips to lips and white to black, since I adjure you by mighty Necessity. (voces magicæ)’

1 Trace above λ, in blacker ink, unexplained, but probably not from an otherwise lost line.

1–14 Magical signs, vowel combinations, and drawing. On *characteres* and magical drawings in general, see W. M. Brashear, ANRW II 18.5, 3440–3, on vowels e.g. D. G. Martinez, *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt* (P. Mich. 757) (ASP 30: 1991) 110 (note that the sequences of 4673 5–8 (left + right)  $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\alpha\epsilon\sigma\sigma$ ,  $\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\upsilon\alpha\alpha$  correspond exactly to P. Mich. 757 (= Suppl. Mag. I 48) G+H 3–6; see Martinez, op. cit. 111).

Unlike the magical figures in PGM XII 449–52, XXXVI 1–34 and 69–101 (see H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*<sup>2</sup> (Chicago 1992) 169, 269, 271; also PGM vol. II, Taf. II Abb. 11, Taf. III Abb. 14 and 18), here the scribe does not mark the figure’s name on the drawing, nor can the name of the deity invoked be deduced from the text. Therefore we must consider the iconography of the figure. The general impression is of an ass-headed figure with perhaps a naked torso, while the lower half of the figure seems to parallel the distinctive depiction in papyri of mummified figures (PGM XII 474–9).

A human, ass-headed figure coincides with the representation of the Egyptian god Seth (H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967) 8–12, and J. G. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford 1992) 69, 72). The most striking parallels are PGM XII 449–52 (mentioned above: in this drawing, Seth is clearly identified as an ass-headed figure, holding spears in both hands); and the erotic spell P. Duk. inv. 230, ed. D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 40 (1999) 159 ff.: drawing of Seth holding in his right hand a whip(?) and in his left a staff(?).

The objects held in a figure’s hands play an important role in identification. Here, in its right hand, the figure is clearly holding a whip. The item held in the figure’s left hand is more stylized, but is most probably a spear. In accordance with Seth’s mythology, both whip and spear indicate the perception of Seth as a powerful and menacing deity (A. Delatte, *BCH* 38 (1914) 191–200; see also the depiction of Seth on tablets in P. Gauckler and R. du Coudray (edd.), *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (Paris 1897) 127–8, nos. 31–3). Similar depictions of a menacing deity holding a whip or other weapons are attested in PGM III 65, VIII 64–110, XXIX 1–21, XXXVI 1–34 (Seth), 69–101 (Seth), 102–3, 231–55 (Osiris?) and PDM XII 62–75 (Seth). Cf. also Suppl. Mag. II 69, and for other drawings of Seth, cf. P. Moraux, ‘Une défixion judiciaire au Musée d’Istanbul’, *Mém. Acad. de Belgique, Cl. des Lettres* 54.2 (Brussels 1960) 19–21. An alternative interpretation could be that the figure is holding a torch, represented here in a stylized form.

Seth as an ass-headed figure adds clear sexual connotations. The characteristics of the ass are primarily negative, such as stubbornness and stupidity. An equally typical asinine characteristic is a legendary sexual appetite and ability; for a survey of the ass-mythology see K. Closs, *Anthropozoologica* 27 (1998) 27–39.

15–17 Symmetrical magical palindromic. This is a rather common palindrome, on which see Suppl. Mag. II 65.1–30 comm.

18–30 The scribe follows a standard formula of invocation, which is used in a variety of contexts and which may include the following parts: address to the deity, the actual request or set of requests (usually in the imperative form), the name of the desired person, and the name of the desiring one, usually the commissioner; both are identified by their mothers’ name: I adjure A (= name of deity, sometimes followed by magical names and formulas): bring/bind B (= name of the object of desire), whom C (= the mother’s name) bore, to D (= name of commissioner) whom E (= mother’s name) bore (e.g. PGM XVI 1–75, XXXVI 134–60).

24–5 These lines are on two separate fragments. It seems unlikely that they can form a single line.

26  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ . The use here of a personal pronoun rather than the name may be an indication that the text missing above may have contained another appeal to the deity.

26–7 Identifying people by matriarchal descent is standard practice in magical texts; see D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 127–32. The name Tapiam is also attested in *P. Neph.* 1 and P. Duk. inv. 230.21 (Tapiam), 24 (Tepiam).

ἐστ’ ἄν. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 268; another example in PGM IV 72. Rather than the usual subjunctive, here ἐστ’ ἄν is apparently followed by a future indicative (συνάψωσιν), though this may be an error of  $\sigma\upsilon$  for  $\omega$ . For the third person cf. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* 23 n. 102.

27–9  $\chi\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\chi\lambda\eta[a]$  (l. χείλεσιν χείλεα) συνάψωσιν καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τῷ μέλανι. The classification of the spell as erotic is based on these lines. Cf. PGM IV 400–4  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\xi\eta\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\psi\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\eta\rho\delta\acute{\nu}\ \mu\eta\rho\delta\acute{\nu}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta$ , P. Duk. inv. 230.25–8  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \chi\lambda\eta\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \chi\lambda\eta\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\eta\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ ; also PGM XVII a.22–3  $\mu\eta\rho\delta\acute{\nu}\ \mu\eta\rho\delta\acute{\nu}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\nu\ \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu$ , XXXVI 83, 113 f., 150. See also Suppl. Mag. I 38.12 n., and F. Maltomini, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 275.

As in PGM IV 403 and XVII a.23 (cf. also Suppl. Mag. II 71 fr.5.2 and possibly 73 ii 8), τῷ μέλανι (τὸ μελάνιον in P. Duk. inv. 230) is to be taken as referring to pubic hair; see also J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*<sup>2</sup> (New York and Oxford 1991) 143, §163a. We should exclude any notion that τὸ λευκόν refers to Helenus’ semen; if we take τὸ λευκόν τῷ μέλανι in strict symmetry with  $\chi\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\chi\lambda\eta[a]$ , τὸ λευκόν should be analogous with τὸ μέλαν in the passages quoted above: ‘white’ should then be taken as referring to white pubic hair, probably denoting Helenus’ old age: an adjustment of the formula of the handbooks to the real case. Cf. Anacr. *PMG* 358.7 on one interpretation, and *PMG* 420.

29  $\delta\tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  denotes a second invocation of the deity. A double, or multiple, invocation is a common phenomenon, and was carried out as a forceful device to ensure the binding of the deity and the victim’s defeat (e.g. Suppl. Mag. I 45, 50). As here, the second attested invocation is often marked by an additional binding-device, such as adjuring the deity by means of an intermediate demon, here Ἀνάγκη (Necessity). In accordance with the forceful nature of Ἀνάγκη, this deity is employed frequently in spells of ἀγωγή-type (e.g. Suppl. Mag. I 45.1, 33; PGM XV 13, LXI 27).

30 For κραταιὰ Ἀνάγκη, cf. PGM XXXVI 342, Suppl. Mag. I 45.1, 33.

31–3 The μασκελλι μασκελλω formula appears here in an abbreviated version, the scribe apparently stopping after  $\epsilon\pi\pi\omicron\chi\theta\omega\nu$ , although he may have completed the line with some modified elements of the full version  $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\chi\theta\omega\nu\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\tau\eta\gamma\alpha\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\text{-}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\beta\omicron\sigma\eta\lambda$ . Here, unlike other attested versions of the formula, a sigma has been added in μασκελλω (Gignac i 159) and  $\omicron\rho\epsilon\omicron\beta\alpha\zeta\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha$  (Gignac i 123). For parallels and discussion of this logos see Zs. Ritoók, *AAAH* 26 (1978) 433–56; D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 328–9.

H. AMIRAV

#### 4674. EROTIC MAGICAL SPELL

23 3B.3/K(1–2)a

14 × 27.5 cm

Late fourth/fifth century  
Plate XII

A sheet bearing an erotic charm (ἀγωγήμω), with four vertical folds and less clear signs of horizontal folds. The text runs across the fibres in a fair-sized, bold, irregular hand of documentary type, which may be assigned to the late fourth or to the fifth century. The back is blank. The full width is preserved. The upper margin is 1 cm; the lower edge is broken irregularly. There is a vertical strip where the surface is poor; roughly one third of the way along the lines, and the scribe has sometimes avoided writing in this area, thus leaving blank spaces within words.

Below 18, after the end of the *logos*, a horizontal line runs right across the papyrus. Below there are *characteres*, letters, and two drawings (see notes).

Whether 4674 is a formulary or rather an applied charm is not immediately clear,



inasmuch as the text contains elements at first sight contradictory. The title (1) and the anonymous 'NN' (13, 16, 17) are typical of formularies. On the other hand, the fact that the *νεκυδαίμονες* asked to help towards the success of the spell are invoked by name (9) could suggest an applied charm. This is the case in every known parallel (see 9 n.); on the only occasion in a formulary that the dead person is envisaged as being invoked by name, we find *ὁ δεῖνα* (PGM IV 2180), the name to be supplied. We might then think of an applied charm containing parts (title and 'NN') mistakenly copied from the handbook which served as a model. Similar examples are known (see Suppl. Mag. II p. 352, s.v. Formularies, and *ZPE* 66 (1986) 159 f.; possibly P. Köln VIII 338.18 f.; see also R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, S. Shaked, *Le Muséon* 105 (1992) 21 (n. on l. 32); D. Jordan, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 184 f. and 137 (2001) 34); in none of them, however, is the intrusion so extensive. Alternatively, we could imagine a formulary prescribing the invocation of specific *νεκυδαίμονες*, perhaps locally famous *ἄωροι* or *βιοθάνατοι* considered especially potent, in spite of the absence of parallels for this. The names (two of them; there was no room for the third) in 9 have been added in a space left blank, perhaps by a second hand; for a fuller discussion of this, see 9 n. The folds do not necessarily entail the practical use of the *ἀγώγιμον*. In any case **4674** appears to be a self-standing sheet, not (as is usual with formularies) part of a roll.

Poor orthography. No lectional signs except for a diacresis in 9 *ταῖων*, and a diagonal stroke after *πνου* in 12 as a word divider. ♣ stands for *δεῖνα* (13 (bis), 16, 17 (bis)).

ἀγώγιμον, ἔνπυρον ἐπὶ δστράκου θαλασίου.  
 ἐπικαλούμεν σα τὸν μέγαν δαίμονα, ὁ  
 μέ[[γ]]γας τύροννος ἐν τῇ γῆ κει τῶ οὐρα-  
 νῶ, πρικταὶ βασιλεῦ· ὄφελον ἠδυνάμην  
 5 σου εἰπὶν τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα· ανοχ ηου  
 σεβανα σαπρα[.]αλ φθαμοθ ψ[.]ψ αμου-  
 γ θααβαωθ ζθωθ . . . εφραμους .  
 ταβαωθ μαρεθριθινη Αρβαθιαωθ.  
 ἐπικαλούμε (m.2?) Τάησις Ἀνιλλα Ταῖων' (m.1) ὑμᾶς,  
 10 εἶνα μοι συνπαρασταθῆται καὶ [[πε]]δῶτε  
 αὐτῇ φωτα. ἐπικαλούμε ὑμᾶς [[τα.]]  
 Πνου'κενταβαωθ πορενθῆναι  
 πρὸς τὴν δ(εῖνα) υς τὴν δ(εῖνα) αι ἔκσπασον  
 αὐτὴν ἐκ{κ} τῆς οἰκ(ί)αα αὐτῆς κε-  
 15 ομένη τὰ ἔν[τερα] τὰ σηλάνχηα [τ]ὸν  
 .ηλον ὅπως [ . . . ] αρακα . . . α[ . . . ] δ(εῖνα)  
 ἐμέ, τὸν δ(εῖνα), ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ(εῖνα), ἠδη [[ταχὺ]]  
 ταχὺ β'.

	c	δ	d	α	d	a
20	h	μ	r		r	
	a	η	a		a	θ
	r	β	w		w	
	a	ζ	i		i	
	c		n		n	
	t		g		g	
	e					
	r					
	c					
	s					

1 l. ἀγώγιμον ἔμπυρον 2 l. ἐπικαλούμαι σε 3 l. τύραννος, καὶ 4 l. φρικτέ 5 l. εἰπεῖν  
 ὄνομα: ο corrected from α 1. ὄνομα 9 l. ἐπικαλούμαι ταῖων- (filler stroke) 10 l. ἔνα, συμπαρστα-  
 θῆτε, δῶτε 11 l. φοιτᾶν (?), ἐπικαλούμαι 12 πνου'κενταβαωθ 1. πορενθῆναι 13 (bis), 16,  
 17 (bis) ♣ 14-15 l. καιομένην 15 l. σπλάγχνα

'Charm to draw (the beloved), burnt-offering by means of a seashell. I invoke you, the great daimon, the great ruler on the earth and in the heaven, frightful king. Would that I could pronounce your true name: *anoch êou sebana sapra, al phthamoth ps ps amoun thaabaôth sthôth. . . ephramous. tabaôth marethrihiuê Arbathiaôth*. I invoke you, (2nd hand?) Taesis, Anilla, Taion, (1st hand) so that you stand by me and give me to have sex (?) with her. I invoke you *Pnou Kentabaôth* to go to NN, daughter of NN, and (?) drag her out of her house inflamed in her guts, her inward parts, her . . . , so that she, NN, may . . . me, NN, whom NN bore, now, [[quickly]], quickly (twice).'

1 ἀγώγιμον (l. ἀγώγιμον; omission of γ and ι > η, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 74 and 237-9). ἀγώγιμον (PGM III 279, IV 2231, VII 295, 300a, 973, 981 (?), prob. Suppl. Mag. II 82 fr. A 4; also Gal. *Simpl. fac.* 10.1 [XII 251.11 K.]; Plut. *Non posse suau. vivi* 1093b, [VI.2, 141.2 Westman]) and synonymous, more frequent, ἀγωγὴ are technical terms for the erotic charm that draws the beloved to the lover. For this sort of charm, see C. A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, Mass. 1999), 25-6, 56-65, 84-9. See also **4672** and **4673**.

ἔνπυρον. The technical term indicates a special spell using a burnt-offering (see S. Eitrem, P. Oslo I 1.295 n.). In magical papyri it is always associated with love charms (PGM VII 295 *ἔμπυρον ἦτοι ἀγώγιμον*, XXXVI 69 *ἀγωγή, ἔμπυρον βέλτιστον, οὐ μίζον οὐδέν*, 102 ἄλλο ἔμπυρον, 295 *ἀγωγή, ἔμπυρον ἐπὶ θείου ἀπύρου*; note the similarity of this last title with **4674** 1).

ἐπὶ δστράκου θαλασίου. ἐπὶ here means 'based on', 'by means of', 'with' as in PGM IV 1496 *ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ζμύρνης ἐπιθυομένης*, 1390f. *ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ἠρώων ἢ μονομάχων ἢ βιαίων*, 1928f. *ἀγωγή . . . ἐπὶ παντός κούφου*, XXXVI 295 (see prec. n.), 333 *ἀγωγή ἐπὶ [ζ]μύρνης*, Suppl. Mag. II 72 i 5 *ἐπὶ μήλο[υ] ἐφωδή*, etc.; not '(to be written) on' (although this is here the function of the seashell).

δστράκου θαλασίου. The seashell is prescribed as a writing material in PGM IV 2218 (a restrainer of wrath), VII 300a (love charm), 374 (*ἀγρηνητικόν*), 467 (love charm), Audollent, *DT* 234.6f., 32 (*υικητικόν*). See F. De Salvia, 'L'δστρακον θαλάσσιον nei papiri magici grecoegiziani', *RivLuv* 1 (1992) 293-307.

2 ἐπικαλούμεν (l. -μαι). αι > ε + superfluous -ν, rather than first person plural of the active (cf. also 9, 11). The same writing probably in P. Köln VIII 340.33f.

σα (l. σε). For ε > α, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 283ff.

τὸν μέγαν δαίμονα. Cf. PGM V 250, also XII 171 f.; *μεγαδαίμων* in IV 3.

2-3 ὁ μέγας τύροννος. Arthrous nominative (for vocative) after accusative, as frequently: cf. e.g. PGM IV 1217 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν ἐν τῷ χρυσῷ πετάλω . . . ὁ μέγας θεός, ὁ φανείς ἐν ὄλω τῷ κόσμῳ, V 459 ff., XII 367 ff., XVI 16 ff., LXXVII 5 ff.

3 μέ[ψ]γα. The ψ was washed out. For insertion of medial nasal before a stop, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 118. τύροννος (l. τύραννος). For a > o, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 286 f. τύραννος in magical papyri: PGM III 339, 474 f. (see A. Jacoby, *ARW* 28 (1930) 274 n. 5), IV 2602 (= 2664), V 471, VI 33, XIII 605; P. Carlsberg 52.16 (W. M. Brashear, *Magica Varia*, Pap. Brux. 25 (Brussels 1991) 39).

κεί (l. καί). For ai > ε, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 260.

4 πρικταί (l. φρικτέ). φ > π (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 86 ff.) also in 12 Πνον. φρικτός, φρίσσω and cognates are frequent in PGM (see vol. iii (Index) 197). Vocative φρικτέ in *Oph. hymn.* 65.4 (of Arcs).

4-5 ὄφελον ἡδυνάμην σου εἰπὺν (l. -εἶν) τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα (l. -μα). Usually the operator states that he knows the true name of the god and this knowledge gives power to his requests ('do this because (ὄτι) I know your name'). Moreover, ὄφελον + impf. is normally used for an unattainable wish in the present. Such lack of self-confidence is atypical in magic. The collocation ὄφελον ἡδυνάμην also in Ach. Tat. 5.15.5 and *Vil. Aesop.* (Vita G) 107 (p. 68 Perry).

5 ὄνομα (l. -μα). For a > ε, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 278 ff. For ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα, cf. PGM IV 278, V 115, VIII 41, 43, XIII 621 f., XXXIIa 24 f. The 'true name' is the sequence of magical words and names which follows. On name in magic, see e.g. LXV 4468 recto i 7-8 n.

ανοχ. The Coptic personal pronoun, 'I' or 'I (am)'; see Suppl. Mag. I 42.30 n.

6 σεβανα. Cf. PGM IV 2782 σεβαρα, IX 3 σεβαν.

[.]αλ. Possibly [B]αλ, Baal (on which see Suppl. Mag. I 39.9 n.).

φθαμοθ. Cf. PGM I 162 φθη μωθ. Possibly in φθα one should recognize the Egyptian god Ptah; see PGM, vol. iii (Index) 232 and W. M. Brashear, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3600.

6-7 αμουν. π not impossible. The god Amun? See also following note.

7 θιαβαωθ. Or rather 6-7 αμουν (Coptic αμουν 'come!', see Suppl. Mag. I 43.2 n.) Πθα (the god Ptah; for the reading, see prec. n.) αβαωθ? αβαωθ is well known; see PGM vol. iii (Index) 236.

8 ταβαωθ. Cf. PGM V 61 f., XII 80. Also part of the magical name Φνουκεταβαωθ, which occurs in 12 μαρε-. Cf. PGM IV 1549 ραιεμαρε, 366 μαρεχθανα, XII 336 μαρεθ; *Pistis Sophia* 244.10 Schmidt μαρε.

Αρβαθιαωθ. Variation of the common Αρβαθιαω ('fourfold Iao', a reference to the Tetragrammaton), on which see W. Fauth, *Arbath Jao*, *OC* 67 (1983) 65-103. The form with added -θ also in PGM V 55.

9 ἐπικαλοῦμε (l. -μαι). Here constructed with ἴνα + subj., in 11-12 with infinitive; cf. respectively PGM XIII 378 f. and IV 3230-3. ἐπικαλοῦμαι is normally addressed to gods or daemons, the usual verb for νεκυδαίμονες (see next note) being ὀρκίζω and cognates.

Τάγεις Ἄνιλλα Ταῖων'. In all likelihood the names of the νεκυδαίμονες addressed. Whereas usually the soul of the dead is adjured anonymously, sometimes it is addressed by its name: see Suppl. Mag. I 37 intr.; add B. Bravo in *Poikilia: Études offertes à J.-P. Vernant* (Paris 1987) 200 and D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 40 (1999) 167 (n. on I. 19). At least Ἄνιλλα (Τάγεις and Ταῖων are less certain) seems to be the work of a second hand (although ink and pen appear the same). Thus, the original scribe left a blank space (erroneously before ἡμάς and not after it), which was filled in later. The situation seems different from that where scribes copying spells from a manual leave a blank space (instead of δεῖνα) to be filled in later at the point of sale with the names of the persons involved in the magic procedure (for examples, see 4672 3 n.). It is very unlikely that the choice of the νεκυδαίμονες would be left to the suggestion of the client. The reason for the blank space will have been something quite different and unforeseen, for example the need to confirm the identity of the deceased. That νεκυδαίμονες are implied in this charm seems confirmed by the drawings below the text, which represent mummies. They are two in number, possibly Τάγεις and Ἄνιλλα. The name of Ταῖων was added above the line, perhaps later but in any case because there was no space; either way, no third drawing was executed.

Τάγεις. For the accentuation of this name see W. Clarysse, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 180.

Ἄνιλλα also in VI 903 32, P. Giss. Univ. III 26.23, P. Mich. IX 546.11; Ταῖων in XXXVI 2785 5, PSI III 162.20, P. Cair. Isid. 6.90, SB XVIII 13858.22, written Ταείων in P. Lond. V 1731.45 and P. Münch. I 11.77.

10 συνπαρταστήται (l. συμπαρταστήτε). For συμπαρίσταμαι 'stand beside so as to assist' (L.SJ s.v., II) said of the god or dæmon, cf. PGM IV 345-7 ὀρκίζω πάντας δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συνπαρταστήται τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ (with the parallels Suppl. Mag. I 46.6, 47.6, 48 J.6, 49.15 f., 50.10 f.) and the British Museum gem discussed in C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* 180; cf. also Men. fr. 500.1 K.-A., Orig. Princ. 3.1.19 (536.4 G.-K.), and see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 110. More frequent is παρίσταμαι: cf. e.g. PGM II 79, IV 2034, 2501 f., XII 95, etc. In general, see K. Keyßner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart 1932) 103.

10-11 δότε (l. δώτε) αὐτῆ φῶτα. Difficult. If φῶτα, is it from (a) φῶς or (b) φῶς? In neither case is the sense obvious. Moreover, in (a) the plural is disturbing; (b) ('give her a man' or rather 'give (me) to her as (her) man') is not clear, although the usually poetic φῶς would perhaps not be problematic in itself, occurring in P. Ryl. II 77.34 (192) and P. Erl. 75.15 (535-7). No parallel helps. Or, (c) is φῶτα a miswriting for ποτά (with reference to the thirst of the spirit of the dead to be quenched; see Suppl. Mag. I 45.12-13 n.)? (d) R. W. Daniel suggests reading αὐτῆ(ν) φοιτᾶ(ν) 'and give her (to me) to have sex with' (for φοιτᾶν of sexual intercourse, cf. L.SJ s.v. I 3). On these lines, perhaps better is αὐτῆ φοιτᾶ(ν) 'and give me to have sex with her' (for φοιτᾶν with dative, cf. Hdt. III 69). οἰ > ω is rare (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 294), but it would not particularly surprise in this text.

11 ||τα. ||. Perhaps the scribe started writing Τάγεις, cf. 9, making the insertion at the wrong point; or perhaps this was an aborted attempt to insert Ταῖων, which he then added above the line in 9. The extended sigma of ἡμάς as filler-stroke shows that this word was intended to be the last in the line.

12 Πνουκεταβαωθ. The usual spelling of Πνον begins with Φ-. It is a component of the Μακελλι-logos (cf. PGM vol. iii (Index) 241 and see W. M. Brashear, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3601). There is an oblique stroke between πνου and κεταβαωθ, certainly used as separator; cf. PGM XII 290, where the name is written in two parts: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν Μακελλι . . . τὸν Φνου, τὸν Κεταβαωθ κτλ. Therefore ἡμάς in 11 can refer to the dæmons Πνον and Κεταβαωθ. Otherwise, if ἡμάς is to be referred to the three νεκυδαίμονες as in 9, one has to suppose a construction of ἐπικαλοῦμαι with the double accusative ('I call upon x by x'), as in PGM LXIV 3-6 ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα.

πορευθῆναι (l. πορευθῆναι). Probably a mistake from miscopying rather than phonetic (εὔ > ε and insertion of nasal; Gignac, *Grammar* i 228 f. and 118 f.).

13 υc. Misspelling for ἦς? Possibly the scribe intended to write something like PGM IV 350 (. . .) δεῖνα ἦς ἔχεις τὴν οὐείαν, but then he changed to the formula τὴν (= ἦν) δεῖνα (cf. *ibid.*), without cancelling what he wrote previously. If so, {υc}. Or, as E. Vendruscolo suggests, misspelling for εἰς, i.e. εἰς τὴν δ(εῖνα) as an erroneous duplication of the preceding πρὸς τὴν δ(εῖνα)? See also below 13 n. on ai.

τὴν. Article for relative? See Gignac, *Grammar* ii 179. Cf. especially PGM LXI 10 πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, τὴν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα; XXXVI 249 f. καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δεῖνα, τὸ(ν)? ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα; Suppl. Mag. I 41.10-12 ἄξον Τερμουτίν, τὴν ἔτεκεν Σοφία, Ζοήλ, τῷ ἔτεκεν Δροσερ. Or for τῆς?

ai. Simply (κ)αι? Or αἰ, miswriting for αεί (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 196)? Or for ἦ? (for η > ai, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 247 f.), with imperative, a rare but attested usage. If so, we would have here a sequence similar to PGM LXI 10 f. ἀπολύω σε πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, τὴν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα. ἦ διακόνῃς μοι κτλ.; see A. D. Nock, *PBA* 17 (1931) 262.

Both of the difficult sequences (υc and ai) occur immediately after δ(εῖνα); perhaps they were connected with this word. One might try to read υc as ν (a possible reading) in order to get δ(εῖνα)ν (for which there is apparently no parallel, but cf. Φνα in Suppl. Mag. II 79.8); but this does not help with ai.

ἔκπασον. Singular after ἡμάς. Similar vacillation in number is frequent; see Suppl. Mag. I 44.10 n.

13-14 ἔκπασον αὐτὴν ἐκ{κ} τῆς οἰκ(ί)ας αὐτῆς. For similar violence in a similar context, cf. PGM IV 2490 f. καὶ ἐκδώξασα αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας κτλ.; Suppl. Mag. I 42.13 f., 34, 44, etc. καταναργάσατε Γοργονίαν . . . βληθῆναι Σοφία, 16 f., 38 δαμάσατε αὐτὴν ἐκπηθῆσαι ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας; 45.46 f.

14 ἐκ{κ}. See Gignac, *Grammar* i 161.

οἰκ(ί)ας. For omission of accented ι before the gen. sing. -ac ending in nouns of the first declension, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 303.

14-15 κειμένη (l. καιομένη) τὰ ἐν[τερα] κτλ. Cf. PGM VII 471 ff. ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα . . . καιομένην τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν; Suppl. Mag. I 48K 35 ff. πυρουμένην, καιομένην, τηκομένην τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὴν γυνεκίαν φύσω; P. Duk. inv. 230.22 ff. (ed. *GRBS* 40 (1999) 159 ff.).

τὰ ἐν[τερα]. The supplement satisfies space and sense, although 'the guts' do not appear elsewhere in erotic magical papyri as an object of torment.

εηλάγχνα (l. επλ-). Probably a mistake from copying. For the inward parts in erotic magic, cf. PGM IV 1529 f., 1543 f., VII 990 f.; also IV 376 f., VII 389, 650.

16 ηλον. The initial traces are difficult, and thus the identification of this word. If we ignore the traces in the left margin, to be linked with more such ink in the next line, all as yet unexplained, then (aligned with line beginnings above and below) there is, first, a stroke (in two parts?) rising to right in upper part of line. To the right of this, there is apparently a descending then rising ligature to η, with possibly a rising stroke joining this ligature on the left. These traces might combine to yield α, cf. in ἐμέ just below, although this is far from easy. If so, then μηλόν (l. μηρόν)? Or τ[ό]ν[τι] μῆλον 'check'? They are unattractive. Perhaps μῆλον for μελόν (cf. PGM IV 1529 ff. καύσον αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπλάγχνα, τὸ στήθος, τὸ ἦπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὰ ὀστά, τοὺς μωλοῦς)?

[. . .] αρακα . . . α[. . .]. First, end of curve from left touching alpha at mid-height. After alpha, possibly λ with a short right leg; then a small circle followed by an upright (οι?); then probably τ (foot of the vertical and right part of the horizontal). A form of παρακαλέω seems probable, παρακαλοῖται[ι for παρακαλήται (for η > οι, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1 266)? Perhaps παρακαλοῖται[ι ἦ]. If so, εἰς or πρὸς would be required before ἐμέ, but it is not easy to see where the preposition could fit in. However, parallels in magical papyri for 'so that she is incited towards me' are lacking. The lacuna after ὅπως certainly has space for more than the lost portion of supposed π, but here as in other lines the scribe may have avoided writing over the damaged vertical strip, cf. introd.

17 Unexplained ink in margin before first letter. ἐτεκεν: the reading presupposes that the scribe left a gap between τ and ε, cf. introd.

17-18 ῥδη || ταχὺ | ταχὺ β'. In 17 the vertical which in the plate appears above the horizontal of the tau of ταχὺ belongs with certainty to delta in 16, i.e. Δ. That the scribe had cancelled ταχὺ in 17 appears certain (an oblique stroke across α and χυ washed out). It is odd that he added the β in 18 above the line. Single ῥδη with repeated ταχὺ is not expected; cf. however P. Duk. inv. 230.30 with n. (ed. *GRBS* 40 (1999) 159 ff.). Another β could have been inserted above ῥδη; a faint stroke could be from its horizontal base, cf. 18 and 22.

Below 18, a horizontal line has been drawn right across the sheet. Below this and close to the left edge is a column of about eight *characters*. There could have been more below, but the papyrus breaks off. To the right of these *characters* the letters δ μ η β ζ stand one above the other in another column. Further to the right, but centrally under the block of script above, are two drawings; in the space to the right of each are some isolated single Greek letters.

These drawings represent two mummies, in profile, facing right, wrapped in a close network of bandages that cover them from shoulders to feet. External wrappings arranged in a criss-cross pattern correspond to real use during the Roman period (see S. Ikram, A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (London 1998) 164 f.) and is regularly seen in representations of mummies in papyri (PGM XII col. xvii, photo in PGM vol. ii, Taf. II Abb. 12 and *OMRO* 56 (1975) pl. XIII) as well as in lead-tablets (e.g. Suppl. Mag. I 37A; R. Wunsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig 1898) 12, 16, 20, etc.) and gems (e.g. C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor 1950) D 8, 11, 13, 151, 350; H. Philipp, *Mira et magica* (Mainz am Rhein 1986) nos. 107-10, 112, 205, etc.). The two faces, as often, appear free from bandages. The head of the left-hand figure has nose, mouth, and eye; that of the right-hand one is little more than a circle with the suggestion of a nose, and with an eye in the center. On the chest of the left-hand mummy, the regularity of the network of bandages is interrupted, and in a larger space are signs of uncertain meaning. They might conceivably be interpreted as two cursive Greek letters (βκ?), but perhaps more likely represent stylized amulets or better still the hands of the mummy crossed over its chest.

On the head of each figure are two oblique projections. That three of these projections touch the horizontal line above them appears to be accidental, since one does not. A parallel is probably the British Museum gem D 151 in Bonner, op. cit., p. 278 (see also p. 108 f., and D. Wortmann, 'Kosmogonie und Nilflut', *BjB* 166 (1966) 106-8), which shows a mummy with three projections on its head like pins with small rings at the top. This decoration might be interpreted as a schematic representation of the two or three lotus buds appearing on the head of the Nile god (Bonner, p. 109; for this detail in the iconography of the Nile, see D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (Paris 1964)

328; M.-O. Jentel, *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v. Neilos, 726); its use for a mummy is explained by the identification of the dead person with Osiris, who in turn is identified with the Nile and with moisture in general.

The two mummies might then represent two of the νεκυδαίμονες called upon by the operator (see above 9 n.). If so, a close parallel is the lead-tablet Suppl. Mag. I 37 A, where similarly the dead man is addressed by his name and the drawing of his mummy is carved on the tablet.

M. Betrò notes a resemblance between the faces of the mummies, especially that on the left, and the hieroglyphic representing a bovine head (A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1950), Sign-list F1), and would prefer to see them as sacred animal mummies. If so, then the oblique projections referred to would naturally be interpreted as horns or ears. In that case, the possible mention of Ptah in 6-7 above might offer a link between text and drawings: the Apis bull was considered as the *ba* of the Memphite god Ptah.

F. MALTOMINI

## IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

The documents published in this section have been chosen for their chronological and prosopographical interest. The majority come from the fifth century, a period that has yielded very few papyri in comparison with other centuries. Many of these texts provide the earliest or latest known dates for the use in Egypt of certain consulates for dating purposes. Others attest Oxyrhynchite magnates with titles of nobility, and offer glimpses into the provincial aristocracy of the Later Roman Empire. The last two items in this section expand the meagre amount of evidence on Oxyrhynchus under Persian rule.

Abbreviations used:

CLRE = R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987).

CSBE = R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978).

PLRE = J. R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii (1984).

## 4675. ORDER TO PAY

86/21(b)

7.5 × 7.8 cm

397/8?

Euethius, who issued this order to pay, of which only the left part survives, may be an eminent Oxyrhynchite who flourished at the end of the fourth and/or the beginning of the fifth century; if so, this is the first dated text to attest him.

The writing is across the fibres. Back blank.

Εὐήθιο[*c*  
παράχ[*ου*  
είας . . [ *c*  
(ἔτους) ο . [

4 L

‘Euethius . . . Pay . . . Year 7- . . .’

<sup>1</sup> Εὐήθιο[*c*. Presumably identical with Εὐήθιος πολυτενόμενος in P. Heid. IV 314.2, also attested as boat-owner and *exactor*; cf. P. Heid. IV 313.18 [π]λ(οίων) Εὐήθίου ἐξάκτορος.

<sup>3-4</sup> Restore διακο[είας, τριακο[είας, etc., probably referring to myriads of denarii.

<sup>4</sup> The trace after ο would suit ρ, i.e. read (ἔτους) ορ [μγ; ρ and ρ are less likely possibilities. Year 74/43 = 397/8; see CSBE 79.

N. GONIS

## 4676. ORDER TO SUPPLY

83/12(a)

10.5 × 5.5 cm

6 September 404

The left part of an order to supply an unknown commodity, possibly issued by an important Oxyrhynchite active around 400, see 1 n. A further point of interest is the attestation of Oxyrhynchite era year 81/50 = 404/5, not recorded previously.

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank.

Πτολεμῖνος [ *c*  
παράχου Οὐρσικίνω καὶ [ *c*  
(ἔτους) πα ν// Θὼθ θ. [

3 L

‘Ptoleminus . . . Deliver to Ursicinus and . . . Year 81/50, Thoth 9.’

<sup>1</sup> Πτολεμῖνος. Possibly the same as the Ptoleminus who occurs in two other documents of similar type and date: SB XXII 15627 (398), in which he authorises the payment of 25 solidi to an *optio* for οἰνόκρεον; and PSI IX 1074 (400), an order to pay 4 5/6 solidi to an ἐπιμελητής ἀντωνῶν προσηκτόρων as an *adaeratio* for large quantities of οἰνόκρεον and hay. Ptoleminus was evidently a man of some standing. It is tempting to identify him with the man known to have been an *exactor* and a shipowner at around that date; see P. Wash. Univ. II 83 introd. and 5 n., LXIII 4383 4 n. If he is the same as the *vir clarissimus* whose heirs feature in the ship-list 4685 back 2, he was promoted to the clarissimate in the early years of the fifth century.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐρσικίνω. This is the first occurrence of the name in a papyrus; SEG XXXII 1590.1 is the only other Egyptian text attesting it. On the name see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 330.

<sup>3</sup> For the conversion of the date see CSBE 79, 96.

N. GONIS

## 4677. LEASE OF LAND

96/71(b)

6 × 9 cm

26 September 408  
Plate XVI

The upper right part of a land lease of annual duration, addressed to an *ex-praepositus* and landowner in the Oxyrhynchite. It records the earliest Egyptian dating by the consulate of Anicius Auchenius Bassus and Fl. Philippus coss. 408.

On Oxyrhynchite land leases of this period see most recently *Tyche* 15 (2000) 93–6, and R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 106–20, 189–91 (list); cf. also 4682 and 4687.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

[ὑπατείας Φ]λ(αουίων) Βάσσου καὶ Φιλίππου  
[τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), Θ]ὼθ κθ.  
[Φλ(αουίω) c. 8? ] . . ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων

[γεουχ(οὔντι) ἐν τῇ λαμ(πρᾶ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτῃ) Ὁξυρυχιτῶ(ν) πόλει  
 5 [παρὰ Αὐρ(ηλίου) -άμ]μωνος Πιερούτος  
 [ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Π]εκτυ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ  
 [χ(αίρειν). ἐκουσίως ἐπι]δέχομαι μισθώσας-  
 [θαι πρὸς μόνο]ν τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτος  
 [πε νδ σποράς] τῆς ὀγδόης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
 10 [ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ]χόντων σοι ἐν  
 [ c.10 ] κ . . ε . ἐδάφου[ε

1 φλ|χ 4 λαμδ 9 νδδ

In the consulship of Flavii Bassus and Philippus, *virī clarissimi*, Thoth 29.

To Flavius . . . , *ex praepositis*, landowner in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius — ammon son of Peêous, from the hamlet of Pecty of the same nome, greetings. Voluntarily I undertake to hold on lease for the current year 85/54 only, for the sowing of the eighth indiction, from your possessions at . . . field . . .

1-2 For the consuls of 408 see *CLRE* 350-1; cf. 352-3. The only other Egyptian reference is SB I 1540 of 19.iii.409, an inscription from Alexandria. For the conversion of the date see *CSBE* 79, 96. So far as I can see, no other papyrus dated to 408 has been published.

2 Θ]ώθ. Φαμεν]ώθ would be too long for the space.

3 ] . . The second letter is probably η; κ, i.e. Ίε]άκ (cf. below), seems less likely. The name could have been a short one if the *gentilicium* was written out in full, Φλαουῖω.

3-4 Cf. SB IV 7445.3-4 (382) Φλ[α]ουῖω Κρησπέινω ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων | γε[ο]υχοῦντι ἐπ[ί] τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλε(ως); XVI 1973 3-5 (420) Φλαουῖω Ίεάκ ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων γε[ο]υχοῦντι ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυχιτῶν | πόλει ἐπιτρόπῳ τῆς θειωτάτης οἰκίας; also PSI I 90.3 (364). On military landowners at that time see R. S. Bagnall, *Chiron* 22 (1992) 47-54, and *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993) 177-9; also J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 115-16.

4 Ὁξυρυχιτῶ(ν). Ὁξυρυχιτῶν was surely meant, but ν seems to have been a victim of the quickness of the writing.

6 ἐποικίου Π]εκτυ. On this settlement see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* (1981) 141-2. LX 4074 7 (307) offers an early instance, and is the basis for restoring ἐποικίου here.

9 Year 85/54 = 408/9; see *CSBE* 79. The σπορά is a reference to the crops, reckoned, i.e. taxed, on the basis of the *praedeleatio*, set on 1 May in the next Julian year: this was the start of (fiscal) indiction 8. On the issue see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 289-90. Cf. also 4682 8-9, 4687 7.

11 At the start of the break one would expect to find πεδίοις, followed by a reference to the village where the land is located, cf. 4687 9-10 n.; but Πεκτυ cannot be read in the traces: could it be a place-name near Πεκτυ? ἐν | [τῶ ἀπὸ ἐποι]κίω would fit space and trace, but the collocation is not paralleled in this context; even if this were what the papyrus had, I do not see what came immediately before ἐδάφου[ε (not ἐπί; ἐν would be possible palaeographically, but stumbles on the grammar).

N. GONIS

## 4678. TOP OF DOCUMENT

49 5B.99/A(2-3)b

15.3 × 4.9 cm

18 October 409

This scrap offers the earliest Egyptian record of the consulship of Honorius Aug. VIII and Theodosius III coss. 409. The nature of the original document cannot be determined, though there is little doubt that it was a legal agreement.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

[ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμ]ῶν Ὀνωρίου τὸ η καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ γ' τῶν αἰώνων  
 [ ] Αὐγούστων, Φαῶφι κα.  
 [ c.22 ] . . . ίου πολιτευόμενος τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ[π]ροτάτης  
 [Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως τοῖς κ]ληρονόμοις Διονυσί[ου] γενομένου πρεσβ[υτ]έρ[ου] . .

In the consulship of our masters Honorius for the 8th time and Theodosius for the 3rd time, the eternal Augusti, Phaophi 21.

. . . son of — ius, *civialis* of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, to the heirs of Dionysius, former priest . . .

1 For the consuls of 409, see *CLRE* 352-3; cf. 354-5. A consular rather than a postconsular clause has been restored by reason of space; cf. l. 4. It is unclear whether in SPP XX 115.1 the sequence Θεο]δοσίου τὸ γ τῶν represents the remnants of a consular or a postconsular clause.

3-4 πολιτευόμενος τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ[π]ροτάτης | [Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως. For the formulation cf. P. Mil. II 64.2 (440, cf. 4688 2 n.), LXVIII 4687 3-4 (441), 4688 4-5 (442?), XXXIV 2718 3-4 (458). We cannot tell whether this πολιτευόμενος was a Flavius or an Aurelius, though the former possibility is the likelier.

N. GONIS

## 4679. FOOT OF DOCUMENT WITH CONSULAR DATE

95/82(a)

15 × 10 cm

21 December 418

The consular date clause is all that survives of a document whose nature cannot be ascertained, though it is conceivable that it was a petition (contracts most often have the date clause at the top, petitions at the foot). It furnishes the earliest attestation of Honorius Aug. XII and Theodosius Aug. VIII coss. 418, previously known only from post-consular clauses of 419.

On the back, close to the left-hand edge, two sets of vertical lines at 1.7 cm from each other, perhaps the remains of a quadrangular frame (a drawing?).

ὑπατίας τῶν [δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν] Ὀνωρίο[υ]

τὸ ιβ, καὶ Θεοδοσί[ο]υ τὸ η τ[ὸν] αἰωνίων  
 Αὐγούστου, Χοιὰκ κε.,

1 1. ὑπατείας

'In the consulship of our masters Honorius for the 12th time and Theodosius for the 8th time, the eternal Augusti, Choiak 25.'

1-3 Cf. **4681** 1-2. On the consulship, see *CLRE* 370-1; cf. 372-3. For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 80, 97.

N. GONIS

#### 4680. ORDER TO SUPPLY OIL

63 6B.66/E(1-2)a

29 × 5 cm

11 February 419

An order for the delivery of one *sextarius* of oil to a female servant or slave. Tatianus, who issued the order, may be same as a senior Oxyrhynchite *curialis* attested in the late fourth and early fifth century; see further 1 n.

The back is blank.

Τατιανός Νέπωτι ἐλαιουργῶ χ(αίρειν).  
 παράσχου Κυριακῆ παιδίσκη ἐλαί(ου) ξέστην ἕν, (γίνεται) ἐλ(αίου) ξ(έστης) α.  
 (ἔτους) ρε ξδ, Μεχεῖρ ιζ. (m.2) καισεμῖωμα ἐλέου ξέστας μίαν ομ( ).

1 χ( 2 ελαί, / ελ'ξ 1 παιδίσκη, ἕνα 3 L, ομ'; 1. καισεμῖωμα ἐλαίου ξέστην ἕνα μόνον

'Tatianus to Nepos, oil-worker, greetings. Deliver to Cyriace, servant girl, one *sextarius* of oil, total 1 *sextarius* of oil. Year 95/64, Mecheir 17. (2nd hand) 'I have countersigned one *sextarius* of oil only.'

1 *Τατιανός*. There seem to have been two *curiales* of this name active at Oxyrhynchus in the late fourth and early fifth century, cf. K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 218-9. A Claudius Tatianus, *riparius*, and hence of curial stock, occurs in VII **1033** 3 (392); he is presumably identical with the *curialis* and ship owner in P. Heid. IV 313.17, a document of c.402. He may have appeared again in SB XVI 12523 of 394, with Macrobius, another eminent Oxyrhynchite, on whom see LXVI **4529** 3 n. (I take the view that in SB 12523.1 the sequence *Μακρόβιος Τατιανός* represents two different persons, not one.) The *Τατιανός πολ(ιτενόμενος)* of P. Heid. IV 314.2.7 (V) is possibly this same *curialis*. A different person is the *curialis* and *riparius* Fl. Tatianus of P. Gron. Amst. 1 = SB XXIV 15970.2 (455). The case of P. IFAO II 12a.2 (V) *γεούχω Τατιαν[ῶ]* is less clear; the provenance of the papyrus is unknown, but it is conceivable that it refers to one of these two Tatiani.

2 *παιδίσκη* (1. *παιδίσκη*). On the term see **4683** 2 n. Very few *παιδίσκαι* occur in papyri of late date. We hear of them twice in connection with the Apions: PSI VIII 957.5 (VI), attesting a payment of wine *ταῖς γεονχ(καῖς) παιδίσκ(αις)*, and PSI VI 709.6, 27 (566). Cf. also BGU III 725.10, 29 (618).

On disbursements of oil to *παῖδες* or *παιδάρια*, see F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo* (1996) 240 index s.v.

ξέστην ἕν (1. ἕνα). The same mistake in SB XVI 12665.2 (IV/V).

3 For the conversion of the date see *CSBE* 80, 98.

ξέστας μίαν ομ( ), 1. ξέστην ἕνα μόνον. ξέστας could be a slip because Tatianus was used to countersigning for larger amounts. It is less easy to guess why he got the gender wrong, but it is noticeable that the clerk also got it wrong, ἕν for ἕνα. At the end, *μιανομί* might represent *μίαν* (ν)όμ(ην) for *μίαν μόν(ην)*.

N. GONIS

#### 4681. LEASE OF AN UPPER ROOM

75/15(c)

15.5 × 15.3 cm

10(?) August 419

The upper part of a lease of an upper room at Oxyrhynchus, rented to a woman. The duration of the lease is not specified, but was probably determinable at the pleasure of the lessor. The papyrus breaks off at the point where the amount of rent was to be indicated. For the latest update on Byzantine leases of house property, see *ZPE* 132 (2000) 191-2 and *ZPE* 141 (2002) 169; see also *JJP* 32 (2002) 35-41, and below **4686**, **4689**, **4692**, **4693**, and **4694**.

The text is of considerable chronological interest: besides offering the latest Egyptian record of the postconsulate of Honorius Aug. XII and Theodosius Aug. VIII coss. 418, it attests an indictional date that is not in harmony with the current view on the start of the Oxyrhynchite indiction; see 9-11 n.

The docket is written in a shaky and crude hand, not to be identified with that responsible for the main text.

μετὰ τὴν [ὑ]π[ατεί]αν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τὸ ιβ  
 καὶ Θε[ο]δοσί[ο]υ τὸ η τ[ὸν] αἰωνί[ων] Αὐγούστου,  
 Μεσορῆ ιζ.

Αὐρηλίῳ Δω[ρ]οθέῳ Ἐπιβίου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
 5 καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Θασίας Ἀτρήτος ἀπὸ κόμης Τα-  
 κόνα τοῦ αὐτοῦ γομοῦ, καταγινομένης

ἐνταῦθα τῇ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει. ἐκουσίως

ἐπειδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς

10 Μεσορῆ τ[οῦ] ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρε ξδ τῆς τρίτης

ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοὶ ἀπὸ οἰ-

[κ]ίας οὔς[η]ς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφοδου

[Τ]εμμεροῦθεως ὑπε[ρ]ῶν τόπ[ο]ν ἕνα

[κὺν χρ]ηστη[ρίοις πάσι κα]ὶ τελ[έ]σῳ ὑ[πέρ] ἐ[νοικί]ου

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

15 (m.2) † μίϛθωϛιϛ Θαη[ϛί]αϛ . . . [

4 l. *λωϛιβίου* 9 l. *ἐπιδέχομαι* 11 *ἰνδικτιονοϛ*

'After the consulship of our masters Honorius for the 12th time and Theodosius for the 8th time, the eternal Augusti, Mesore 17 (?).'

'To Aurelius Dorotheus son of Sosibius, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Thaesia daughter of Hatres, from the village of Tacona of the same nome, resident here in the city of the Oxyrhynchites. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the present month of Mesore of the current year 95/64 of the third indiction, from the property belonging to you, out of a house situated in the same city, in the quarter of Teumenuthis, one upper room with all (its) appurtenances; and I shall pay for rent . . .'

Back: 'Lease of Thaesia . . .'

1-2 On the consulate see **4679** 1-3 n. For the conversion of the date see *CSBE* 80, 101.

6-7 *Τακόνα*. A village in the northern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome; see LX **4087** 2 n. (para. 2) and the references cited there.

7 *τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ*. This refers back to *Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεωϛ*, and may be explained by the fact that the old nome had become a *αἰλίαιϛ*; cf. also **4682** 6 (with note) and **4687** 5; cf. also P. Kell. I 20.3-5 n. A similar interchange of the terms *πόλιϛ* and *νομόϛ* is in evidence in P. Benaki 2.2-5 (IV) *ἀπὸ κόμηϛ Κανῆϛ ιγ// πάγου τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομ[οῦ] . . . ἀπὸ τῆϛ αὐτῆϛ πόλεωϛ*.

*καταγινωμένη(ς)*. On this participle, which had a 'special currency in third- and fourth-century Oxyrhynchus', see J. G. Keenan, *GRBS* 42 (2001) 59 n. 7. This is its latest instance. (There is no need to restore *οἰκῶν* [καὶ *καταγινόμενος* in SB XVI 13015.13, of 632.)

9-11 *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντοϛ μηνόϛ | Μεσορῆ 7[οῦ] ἐνεστῶτοϛ ἔτοϛ ρε ξδ τῆϛ τρίτηϛ | ἰνδικτίονοϛ*. Oxyrhynchite era year 95/64 ran from 418 to 419, and indiction 3 from 419 to 420; see *CSBE* 80. The current view is that the indiction used in Oxyrhynchus for dating purposes started on Thoth 1, the first day of the civil as well as of the local era year; see *CSBE* 26-7. **4681** tells us that indiction 3 was underway in Mesore, that is, before Thoth 1. In view of the new evidence, it is worth examining the issue of the Oxyrhynchite indiction afresh.

The earliest possible instance of the use of the Thoth indiction at Oxyrhynchus is furnished by VII **1041**: dated to 9 June (Pauni 15) 381 by the consuls, the text refers to a loan to be repaid on the 'first day of the month of Mesore [= 25 July] of the present 14th = the 6th = the 2nd year [= 380/1] and the current ninth indiction [= 380/1]'; unless the indiction figure is wrong, it seems that the indiction started in Thoth. But a contemporary text, the lease SB IV 7445, tells a different story: dated to 12 July (Epeiph 18) 382, the lease is set to start 'in the next month of Mesore of the current year 15/7/3 [= 381/2] of the 11th indiction'; if that indiction were reckoned from 29 August (Thoth 1) 382, the reference would have been to the tenth, not the eleventh indiction. This is an exact parallel to **4681**. **4688**, even if not entirely free from ambiguity, would lend further support to the notion that the indiction started earlier than Thoth: an indiction supposed to start on Thoth 1 seems to be underway some day in Pachon or Pauni; see **4688** introd. Compare also the lease XLV **3203**, dated June-July (Epeiph) 400, said to start *ἀπὸ νεομηνιά[ϛ] | τοῦ ἐξῆϛ μηνόϛ Μεσορῆ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτοϛ | ἔτοϛ οϛ με ἀρχῆ[ϛ] τῆ[ϛ] τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα[ἄτηϛ] | ἰνδικ[τ]ίονοϛ* (ll. 9-12; year 76/45 = 399/400, indiction 14 = 400/1), and the loan XVI **1973** (420), to be repaid *ἐν τῷ | Παῦνι μηνί τοῦ ἐνεστῶτοϛ ἔτοϛ ρϛ ξε εἰϛ ἀρχῆν | τῆϛ τετάρτη[ϛ] | ἰνδ[ι]κτ[ι]όνοϛ* (ll. 13-15; year 96/65 = 419/20, indiction 4 = 420/1; note that *εἰϛ ἀρχῆν* = *ἀρχῆ*): in both texts the 'start' of the indiction is placed earlier than Thoth.

Two documents of later date may also attest the use of an indiction starting earlier than Thoth 1. The first is XVI **1958**, a lease dated Mesore 26, indiction 15, set to start on Thoth 1 'of the coming year 153/122 of the auspicious fifteenth indiction'; the date has been converted to 19 August 476. Bagnall and Worp 'think that indiction 15 [= 476/7] in the heading is a slip, cf. its equation in the same text to era year 153/122 [= 476/7]' (*CSBE* 27 n. 21); 'the scribe has changed the number too soon or omitted ἀρχῆ' (*CSBE* 51 n. 2). But there is no need to assume an error if the indiction was reckoned from a date before Thoth 1. Further, there is no 'equation' of the indiction to the era year: what the text says is that the first day of Thoth of year 153/122 falls in the fifteenth indiction (*νεομηνιάϛ τοῦ ἐξῆϛ μηνόϛ Θῶθ | τοῦ εἰσιόντοϛ ἔτοϛ ργγ ρκβ τῆϛ εὔτυχοῦϛ | [πε]ντεκαίδεκα[ἄτη]ϛ ἰνδικτίονοϛ*, ll. 8-10). The other text is P. Lond. V 1797 = P. Bingen 129, a lease dated Epeiph 16 (?), indiction 10 (= 10 (?)) July 501, said to begin on Thoth 1, indiction 10. (Not much can be made of the lease P. Yale I 71, since it dates from the last day of the civil year, and its dating clause contains an error: it is dated 28 August 456 (epagomenal 5), and the lease is set to start on Thoth 1 'of the current year 133/101 (*sic*) of the present tenth indiction'. This indiction 10 (and year 133/102) ran from 456 to 457. There is a problem with the era year referred to as 'current', since year 133/102 was to start on the very next day, cf. *CSBE* 26 n. 11. If 133 is a mistake for 132, the dating of this papyrus may be brought in line with those discussed above.)

But a text from the middle of the century attests an indiction that must have begun in Thoth, or in any case later than Pachon. P. Harr. I 149 is dated Year 120/89, indiction 12, Pachon 26 (= 21 May 444, cf. BL VII 67). Year 120/89 = 443/4, indiction 12 = 443/4; this twelfth indiction cannot have been reckoned from 1 May 443, more than a year earlier than the date of the text as indicated by the era year. The use of a Thoth indiction is attested again in LIX **3985** of 9 May 473, and from then on, with the possible exception of XVI **1958** and P. Bingen 129, the Thoth indiction is the only one in evidence (note that it can be verified only in texts dating from May to August); cf. LIX **3985** (473), SB XX 15134 (483), VIII **1130** (484), P. Mich. XIV 682 (496), P. Köln V 235 (496), etc.

It thus seems that in the later fourth and earlier fifth centuries the start of the Oxyrhynchite chronological indiction oscillated between the *praedelegatio* of 1 May (Pachon) and the start of the traditional civil year of 29/30 August (Thoth). But sometime in the course of the fifth century the Thoth indiction prevailed, and the use of the Pachon indiction was restricted to fiscal matters. I wonder whether at the start Oxyrhynchus used for dating purposes the Pachon indiction only; this indiction, besides indicating the fiscal year, was also used as the chronological one in most regions of Egypt. But given the importance of the local era year, which coincided with the civil year, and for the sake of simplicity, the indiction was equated with the era year. Attempts at simplifying the dating systems are known from later times; see LVIII pp. 54, 57, and P. Thomas pp. 260-2.

A reference to the Pachon indiction may be detected in a formulation present in the dating clauses of several Oxyrhynchite documents: *ἰνδικτίωνοϛ x, ἀρχῆ* of  $x + 1$ . It was once thought that the second part of the formula refers to an indiction that began with the *delegatio*, see *CSBE* 26, but LIX **3985**, of 9 May 473, the earliest document to use the formula, has shown that the *praedelegatio*, the 'Pachon indiction', was meant; see **3985** 1 n. para. 3. This may also be surmised from X **1280** 8-10 (assigned to the last quarter of the fourth century in *CSBE* 21 and 61 n. 10) *ἀπὸ τοῦ παρελθόντοϛ μηνόϛ Παχῶν ἀρχῆ τῆϛ δωδεκάτηϛ | ἰνδ[ικ]τίονοϛ*; cf. also XVI **1973** 14-15 (420), cited above. It may be worth asking whether the appearance of the formula was due to the establishment of the Thoth indiction: the scribes indicated what was a relative novelty in the dating clauses by referring to the old- as well as the new-style indiction.

Something similar may be observed in the case of the Heracleopolite chronological indiction. Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* 16 (1979) 239-43, have argued that it ran from Thoth to Mesore, just as the Oxyrhynchite one. The earliest instance of the Thoth indiction at Heracleopolis is in P. Rain. Cent. 123 of 478; but the earlier evidence, scanty though it may be, seems to suggest that Heracleopolis used for dating purposes an indiction that started earlier than Thoth.

First, we have SPP XX 90, a loan of money dated 15 June 415 (cf. BL VII 261), to be repaid *μηνί Ἐπειφ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτοϛ ἔτοϛ | τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα[ἄτηϛ] ἰνδικτίονοϛ* (ll. 11-12). (The expression looks back to such passages as P. Rain. Cent. 86.13-14 (381) *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντοϛ μονόϛ Φαμ[ε]νῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτοϛ | ἔτοϛ ἰνδικτίονοϛ*, or BGU III 938.6 (384/5) *[τοῦ ἐνεστῶ]τοϛ ἔτοϛ ι/ καὶ ζ/ καὶ β/ ἰδ ἰνδικ[τί]ωνοϛ*.) This indiction 14 ran from 415 to 416; if it began on 30 August 415 (Thoth 1), the loan would have to be repaid more than one year later, in the summer of

416 (Epeiph = 26 June – 24 July); but the repayment is stated to take place within 'the current year' (cf. VII 1041, discussed above). This means that the indiction must have started earlier than Thoth 1.

The same is implied by P. Benaki 2, a lease of a room assigned to the later fourth century (the consular date has not survived; it probably dated from Mesore or the epagomenal days), set to be of annual duration, starting ἀπὸ νεομηρίας τοῦ εἰσιόντος | μηνός Θῶθ τῆς παρουσίας εγ// | ἑνδικτίονος (ll. 15–17): on the face of it, the indiction in which Thoth fell had started before Thoth 1. In view of SPP XX 90, there is no need to assume that the scribe advanced the number of the indiction too early.

A comment on the relation between Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus in this period may be in order. In associating the Oxyrhynchite with the Heracleopolite indiction, Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* 16 (1979) 242, invoke R. Rémondon, *Pap. Congr. XI* (1965) 138, who argued that in the later fifth century and for a great part of the sixth 'Héracléopolis et la moitié méridionale au moins de son territoire paraissent être dans la dépendance politique et sous l'emprise économique d'Oxyrhynchos.' Even if the texts on which Rémondon's thesis rests are not quite relevant (SB VI 9152 = XVIII 13953 and SPP XX 129 simply attest the Heracleopolite estate of Fl. Apion I, while 'P. Oxy. 1938' [*sic*, for XVI 1983] only says that Fl. Strategius, the son of Apion I, was a *πρωτεύων* at Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus), the close link between the two cities is hardly in doubt; cf. now P. Mich. XVIII 794, assigned to the later fifth century, in which the municipal authorities of Oxyrhynchus are required to supply wreaths for the public market of Heracleopolis. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the *praeses* of Arcadia had a residence at Heracleopolis (cf. LIX 3986 introd. para. 2), while Oxyrhynchus was the capital of the province.

12–13 ἀμφόδου [Τ]εμμενούθεως. For a list of attestations of this quarter see S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 220–1; for earlier literature see P. Bingén 105.7 n. See also LXV 4478 7–8 n.

13 ὑπε[ρ]ῶνον τόπ[ο]ν. On the term see G. Husson, *OIKIA: Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (1983) 284–5. The only other reference to an upper room in a lease is in the Oxyrhynchite SB IV 7444 (327; cf. *ZPE* 132 (2000) 183–4).

N. GONIS

#### 4682. LEASE OF LAND (?)

105/214(a)

15.3 × 12 cm

g(?) October 421

The upper part of a lease, probably of land and of indefinite duration. It offers the latest mention in the papyri of the postconsulate of Theodosius IX and Fl. Constantius III coss. 420, and attests two eminent Oxyrhynchites, Valerius, *vir clarissimus*, and his son Flavius Daniel, on whom see 4–5 n.

The back is blank.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δεσπότην ἡμῶν Θεοδο[ρίου τοῦ]  
αἰωνίου Ἀνγούστου τῷ θ καὶ Φλ(αουτίου) Κωνσταντίου  
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τὸ γ, Φαῶφι ιβ.  
Φλαουτίου Δανιὴλ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης  
5 Οὐαλερίου παρὰ Ἀνρηλίου Ἰωάννου Ὠρ[ί]ωνος  
ἀπὸ κώμης Κενύρεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ.  
ἐ[κουσ]ίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρη ξζ σπορᾶς τ]ῆ[ς] εἰδυχοῦς

[ἔκτης ἑνδικτίονος ε.15 ] . .

1 ι. ὑπατείας 2 φλ 3 λαμπροτάτου: το corr. from τα 4 φλαουτίου 5 ἰωαννου; ι.  
Ἰωάννου

'After the consulship of our master Theodosius the eternal Augustus for the 9th time and Flavius Constantius, *vir clarissimus*, for the 3rd time, Phaophi 12 (?).

'To Flavius Daniel, son of Valerius of splendid memory, from Aurelius Ioannes son of Horion from the village of Senyris of the same nome. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the present year 98/67, for the sowing of the auspicious sixth indiction . . .'

1–3 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 80, 96. This is the latest attestation of the consulship of Theodosius IX and Constantius III coss. 420, on which see *GLRE* 374–5; cf. 377. (The earliest Egyptian record of the consuls of 421 is SB XVIII 13882 of 20 December 421.) Constantius was proclaimed Augustus in the West on 8 February 421, but was not recognized in the East. He died on 2 September 421, about a month earlier than the date of 4682.

Constantius was a *patricius*, which is recorded in the earliest mention of his third consulate in a papyrus, VIII 1134 2 of 3 March 421: τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πατρικίου. It is unclear whether any other papyrus refers to his patriciate, although this has been restored in P. Select. 8.2 (22 April 421) τοῦ [λαμπροτάτου] πατρ(ικίου) and SPP XX 114.2 (25 July 421) τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πατρ(ικίου) (cf. BL VII 262). P. Select. 13.19 (25 June 421) only has τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου).

4–5 Φλαουτίου Δανιὴλ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Οὐαλερίου. Also attested in the undated CPR V 24.3, 7 Δανιὴλ Οὐαλερίου, and 4685 back 8 πλ(οίου) Δα[ν]ι[ή]λ Οὐαλερίου λαμ(προτάτου); cf. also 4683 1. It is unclear whether λαμ(προτάτου) in 4685 refers to the father or the son.

Valerius, Daniel's father, may occur in VII 1048 10 πλοῖον Οὐαλερίου πολ(ιτευομένου); possibly he is also to be recognized in LXII 4346 2 (380) πλοῖου Οὐαλερίου Ε[]. He is likely to recur in P. Wash. Univ. II 83.7, in the company of several other Oxyrhynchite grandees.

6 Κενύρεως. A village in the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* (1981) 170; LXIII 4356 4 (III) and P. Hamb. III 228.17 (VI) offer additional attestations.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. On the face of it, there should have been an earlier reference to the (capital of the) nome now *ciuitas* — as part of the description of Fl. Daniel, i.e. that he comes from or is a landowner or holds a municipal office at Oxyrhynchus, but this has been omitted. Cf. e.g. 4681 7 or 4687 5, where τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ refers back to τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως. For a similar omission, cf. LXIII 4388 3 n.

8–9 ἀπὸ τοῦ could have been followed either by ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους (given that the text is written in Phaophi, εἰσιόντος is much less likely), which would imply that the text is a lease of land, cf. e.g. P. Mich. XI 611.6 (412), LXVIII 4687 6 (441), LXIII 4390 7 (469), LXVII 4615 9 (505); or by ὄντος/ἔξῃς μηνός name τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, which would suggest that this is a lease of a building, cf. e.g. LI 3639 7 (412), LXVIII 4681 9 (419), 4686 5 (440), XVI 1957 7 (430), PSI III 175.8 (462), L 3600 10 (502). The latter option is too long for the space, unless the papyrus did not introduce the name of the month by a participial construction, cf. 4692 6–7 (453), but the latter is an isolated case; see the note there. It is thus likely that this is a lease of land.

For the restorations adopted in the text cf. P. Oslo II 35.9–10 (426, cf. BL VII 124) and L 3582 5 (442). The document was written in the course of Oxyrhynchite era year 98/67 = 421/2; the crops were those of the sixth indiction (422/3). Cf. 4677 9 n.

N. GONIS



## 4683. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

84/50(a)

11.3 × 6.6 cm

1 December 426

The upper left part of an order to deliver wine to servants (*παιδάρια*), issued by Daniel, a name borne by two eminent Oxyrhynchites at that time; see below 1 n. It is mainly of interest for confirming the existence of a variety of wine called 'Theban'; see further 3 n.

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank. A scrap (not transcribed) may join the end of l. 2, but this is far from certain.

Δ[α]νιήλ [ 6.6? ] Ἀθανασίω  
παράσχου τοῖς παιδαρίοις τοῦ κυρ(ίου) [  
οἴνου Θυβαεϊκοῦ διπλά δύο, γίνονται δι(πλά) β [μό(να).]  
(ἔτους) ργ οβ, Χοϊὰκ ε. (m.2) εεσημῖωμα οἴν[ο]υ δι[πλά] δύο μόνα.]

2 κυρ 3 l. Θηβαϊκοῦ γι Α 4 L 1. εεσημῖωμα

'Daniel to Athanasius . . . Supply to the servants (?) of lord . . . two double jars of Theban wine, total 2 double jars only. Year 103/72, Choïak 5.' (2nd hand) 'I have countersigned two double jars of wine only.'

1 Δ[α]νιήλ. Daniel is perhaps to be identified either with the son of Macrobius, who occurs in 4685 back 7, or with the son of Valerius, attested in 4682 4, 4685 back 7, and CPR V 24.3, 7. It is unclear whether Δ[α]νιήλ was followed by another word such as a title (e.g. *λαμῖ* for *λαμπρότατος*) or a short blank space.

2 παιδαρίοις. Cf. 4680 2, 4699 2. There is some uncertainty about the exact meaning of the term; here it probably refers to servants or slave-boys. See J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance* ii (1992) 58 n. 38, LXII 4349 6 [*sic*, for 7] n., and J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 186 with n. 107.

τοῦ κυρ(ίου) [. For payments in kind to *παιδάρια* in the service of an office holder or other potentate, cf. P. Haun. III 68.2 (402) τοῖς παιδαρ(ίοις) Ἀετίου ναυάρχου, X 1335 2 (482) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) τῶ κόμι(τι) Διογένης (*sic*), P. Princ. II 86.2–3 (VI) τοῖς παιδαρ(ίοις) Ἀειώνιος | τρακ(τευτοῦ); also 4699 2 (504).

3 οἴνου Θυβαεϊκοῦ (l. Θηβαϊκοῦ). See LIV 3740 16–17 n., discussing the term *κνιδίου* Θηβαϊκοῦ. This was wine of Theban origin, so that in 3740 17 (312), 3762 16 (326?), and 3765 i 4 (327) *κνιδίου* may well have been used for οἴνου; cf. N. Kruit, K. A. Worp, *APF* 46 (2000) 109 n. 109. Kruit and Worp further suggest restoring οἴνου Θηβαϊκοῦ (l. Θηβαϊκοῦ) *κνίδια* in *M. Chr.* 318.16 (295).

διπλά. On this measure, whose capacity ranged from 4.5 to 8 *sextarii*, see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 131 (2000) 146–8.

4 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 81, 97.

N. GONIS

## 4684. PETITION (?) ADDRESSED TO A RIPARIUS

83/78(b)

10.8 × 9 cm

431

This scrap, probably of a petition, confirms that the petition P. Köln V 234, also of 431, was addressed to a *riparius*; see 3 n.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπ[ατε]ρί[αν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τὸ ἰγ' καὶ  
Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ γ' τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀυγούστων, (month day)  
Φλαουίω Ἰωσήφ ῥιπαρί[ω] Ὀξυρυγίτου  
].[ ] . υ [ ] . [ ]

'After the consulship of our masters Theodosius for the 13th time and Valentinian for the 3rd time, the eternal Augusti . . .

'To Flavius Ioseph, *riparius* of the Oxyrhynchite . . .'

1–2 On the consulship, see *GLRE* 394–5; cf. 396–7. P. Palau Rib. 14 and P. Rain. Unter. 95.21 provide additional attestations.

3 ῥιπαρί[ω] Ὀξυρυγίτου is restored after P. Select. 8.3 (421) and other earlier documents, but ῥιπαρί[ω] τῆς Ὀξυρυγίτων (probably abbreviated), attested in later documents, cf. LXVII 4614 1 n. para. 6, is possible too.

4684 confirms that Fl. Ioseph was addressed in the capacity of *riparius* in P. Köln V 234.3 (1. ix. 431), where the editor read *πολιτευομένω* [καὶ ῥιπαρίω τῆς Ὀξυρυγίτων]. It is less likely, though not entirely impossible, that he is to be recognized in the much later SB XVIII 13596.3 (464) Φλαουίω Ἰωσήφ τῶ ἀδελφίω πολιτ(ενομένω) καὶ ῥιπαρίω τῆς Ὀξυρυγίτων. But it is also possible that he is to be identified with the *vir clarissimus* whose ship is mentioned in 4685 back 3; if so, he apparently had not attained the *clarissimate* by 431.

N. GONIS

## 4685. LISTS OF SHIPS AND FREIGHTS

103/110(c)

14.5 × 20 cm

First half of fifth century  
Plate XIII

Both sides of the papyrus list ships, with their owners, captains, and freights. It is likely that both sides are by the same hand, even though they are written upside down to each other.

The ships were used for the transportation of the tax grain down the Nile. For this type of document, see P. Heid. IV 313 introd.; cf. also *ZPE* 143 (2003) 163–5. We possess a fair number of similar texts, all of which come from Oxyrhynchus: VII 1048, XXIV 2415, XLII 3079, XLIV 3194 21–5, P. Harr. I 94, P. Heid. IV 313. Cf. also CPR V 24, P. Heid. IV 314, P. Wash. Univ. II 83 (cf. *Tyche* 17 (2002) 81 n. 10), all three lists of payments from Oxyrhynchites known to have owned ships. Several related issues have been discussed by A. B. J. Sirks, *Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople* (1991); cf. also (for the earlier period) L. De Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'Impero romano: I corpora naviculariorum* (1992).

Ship-owners were among 'the major holders of all forms of wealth and power in society' (R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993) 36–7). 4685 belongs in the same milieu. Seven Oxyrhynchites were previously attested as *λαμπρότατοι* (*virī clarissimi*) in papyri of

the early fifth century (cf. back 10 n.); **4685** adds four new ones. None of the four, however, seems to be a novelty in the prosopography of Oxyrhynchus, since they may all be identifiable with known *πολιτευόμενοι* (*curiales*). Their clarissimate signifies a promotion, and is symptomatic of the increasingly frequent conferral and consequent devaluation of the rank at that time.

A disconcerting piece of information is that there existed a Strategius of *clarissimus* rank at a date not far removed from 400 (cf. below), deceased by the time **4685** was written. A *πολιτευόμενος* of this name appears in P. Heid. IV 314 with two or three of the persons occurring in **4685** (Ptoleminus and Hieracion, both said to be deceased in **4685**, and Tatianus, though this may not be the same as the Tatianus of **4685**) and another person attested around 400 (Euethius; cf. **4675**). The Strategius in P. Heid. 314 was tentatively identified with the one in LXIII **4389** (439), who in turn was identified with the earliest known representative of the 'Apion family', and who died some time between 465 and 469 (see **4389** 1 n.). This triple link now appears impossible. Two Strategii of high rank, possibly but not necessarily related, were active at Oxyrhynchus in the first half of the fifth century.

The text bears no date, but we may form an idea about it from the occurrence of Daniel son of Valerius, attested in **4682** of 421, and of the skipper Agathus son of Agathus, presumably identical with the skipper of a boat of the *domus divina* in LXIII **4388** of 423. Further, if Ioseph, *vir clarissimus*, is to be identified with the *riparius* and *πολιτευόμενος* of **4684** and P. Köln V 234, both of 431, **4685** should be later in date, since the two other texts do not mention his clarissimate but stress his curial status; but we may be dealing with two different persons of the same name. Last, if (the deceased) Strategius is the same as the one in LXIII **4389**, the date of the latter, viz. 9 March 439, should provide the *terminus post quem* for **4685**. But I think it more likely that the one in **4389** is a different person.

A further point of interest is the occurrence of a ship of extraordinarily large capacity, 7,829 artabas, see front 10 n. (but cf. also front 12, where there may be a reference to a ship carrying 8,142 artabas).

A kollesis runs close the left edge of the front.

Front

scant traces of three lines

5 ] . [ . ] . // L . [ ] (ἀρτάβαι) ,Γλα // L . [ ] Θεωδώρα ὑπὸ Παύλον Δωροθέου (ἀρτάβαι) ,Αχξδ // L πλ[(οῖον) Ἀμ[-  
] , καὶ Ἀμβροσίας ὑπὸ Μακάριον (ἀρτάβαι) ,Αωλξ // L πλ(οῖον) Ἀμμ[-  
] [(ἀρτάβαι) ,Γφοξ]]  
10 ] . Θεωδώρα (ἀρτάβαι) ,Ζωκθ // L πλ(οῖον) Τα[τ]ια[νοῦ]  
] νο(μικμ-) . [κ]αὶ (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ᾶ  
] . Ηρμβ

Back, other way up:

] φ( ) . πλ(οῖον) Θεωδώρα Λευκαδίου πολι(τενομένου) ὑπὸ Ἰουλι . [ ] . / . πλ(οῖον) κληρ(ονόμων) Πτολεμίνου λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Θέωνα [ ] . πλ(οῖον) Ἰωσήφ λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Θεώδορον Π . . [ ] φ( ) . πλ(οῖον) κληρ(ονόμων) Τερακίωνος ὑπὸ Ἰουκτορα [ 5 ] πλ(οῖον) Τατιανῶν πολι(τενομένου) ὑπὸ Ἀ[γ]άθου Ἀγάθου [ ] . / . πλ(οῖον) κληρ(ονόμων) Στρατηγίου λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Θέωνα . . . [ ] φ( ) πλ(οῖον) Δανιήλ Μακροβίου πολι(τενομένου) ὑπὸ Μέλαν[α ] πλ(οῖον) Δα[ν]ι[ή]λ Οὐαλερίου λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Εὐλό[γι]ου πλ(οῖον) c.9 ] ὑπὸ Ἀταν Ἀγουτίου [ 10 πλ(οῖον) c.5 λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Φοιβάμμωνα Δ[ πλ(οῖον) c.9 π]ολι(τενομένου) ὑπὸ Ἀγαθον [Ἀγάθου (?)] πλ(οῖον) c.11 ] ὑπὸ Τιμόθε[ον  
scant traces of three lines

Front

5-6, 8-10 ♂ 6, 9 1. Θεωδώρα 6 1. Δωροθέου 7, 8, 10 πλ 11 ῥ \*

Back

1, 4, 7 φ 1-12 πλ 1 1. Θεωδώρα 1, 5, 7, 11 πολτ 1 ἰουλι . [ 2, 3, 6, 8, 10 λαμξ 3 1. Θεόδωρον 4 ἱερακιωνος, ἰουκτορα 6 θεωνα: θ ex corr. 2, 4, 6 κληρ

Front, 5 ff.

' . . . Theodorus under Paulus son of Dorotheus artabas 3,031 . . .  
' . . . Ship of Am— . . .  
' . . . and of Ambrosia under Macarius artabas 1,837 Ship of Amm— . . .  
' . . . artabas 3,577  
' . . . Theodorus artabas 7,829 Ship of Tatianus . . .  
' . . . sol. . . . and den. myr. 900  
' . . . 8,142'

Back

' . . . Ship of Theodorus son of Leucadius, *curialis*, under Iuli— . . .  
' . . . Ship of the heirs of Ptoleminus, *vir clarissimus*, under Theon . . .  
' . . . Ship of Ioseph, *vir clarissimus*, under Theodorus son of P— . . .  
' . . . Ship of the heirs of Hieracion, under Iuctor (= Victor?) . . .  
' . . . Ship of Tatianus, *curialis*, under Agathus son of Agathus . . .  
' . . . Ship of the heirs of Strategius, *vir clarissimus*, under Theon . . .  
' . . . Ship of Daniel son of Macrobius, *curialis*, under Melas . . .

- Ship of Daniel son of Valerius, *vir clarissimus*, under Eulogius . . .
- Ship of . . . under Atas son of Anutius . . .
- Ship of . . ., *vir clarissimus*, under Phoebammon son of (?) D— . . .
- Ship of . . ., *curialis*, under Agathus son of Agathus (?) . . .
- Ship of . . . under Timotheus . . .

## Front

- 4 L. Cf. 5, 6, 8, 10. The symbol may, as often, represent ἀφ' ὧν, but the fragmentary context rules out certainty.
- 5 . . . [ . . . πλ(οίων) does not seem to be a possible reading.
- 6 Θε]ωδόρου, l. Θεοδώρου. Cf. 10. This is the shipowner's name or patronymic.
- 7 πλ(οίων) Ἀμ[. Cf. 8 Ἀμβροσία and πλ(οίων) Ἀμμ[.
- 8 Ἀμβροσία. The name is not attested otherwise in the papyri. The only Egyptian reference I have found is I. Syringes 1870.5.
- πλ(οίων) Ἀμμ[. Just possibly the same as Ἀμμωνιάς in CPR V 24.6, 10. The Ἀμμώνιος πρεσβύτερος, ναυκληροκυβερνήτης, of P. Harr. I 94.7 is too early for our purposes; see *ZPE* 143 (2003) 164–5.
- 10 Θεωδόρου, l. Θεοδώρου. Is this the patronymic of the shipowner or of the skipper? Cf. 6. (ἀρτάβα) Ζωκθ. A capacity of 7,829 artabas (c.235 tonns, assuming that 1 art. = c.30 kg) far exceeds the known capacities of ships in this period; the second largest is 5,200 art. (CPR XVHA 7.2, of 317). There are of course several Ptolemaic κέρκουροι of larger capacity, see I. J. Poll, *APF* 42 (1996) 137–8. Cf. also below 12 n.
- 12 Ηρμθ. If the reading of the figure (= 8,142) stands, it is likely to refer to artabas and a ship carrying them, cf. above 10 n. The trace visible before the figure, a short medial horizontal, could be part of the artaba symbol.

## Back

1, 4, 7 The abbreviation, phi intersected by an oblique stroke, might stand for φ(υλή), a term that probably indicates a geographic division, known exclusively from Hermopolite documents; see A. Papaconstantinou, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 94. For the form of the abbreviation compare SB XXII 1559Bv.2–14 (cf. *Tyche* 9, Taf. 19), and BGU XVII 2723.1, 24, 49, 74, 114bis, 131, 149, 160 (cf. Taff. LI–LIII, with J. Gascou, *CE* 77 (2002) 333). If this holds, φ(υλή) will have been preceded by a numeral.

1 Θεωδόρου Λευκαδίου πολι(τευομένου). Theodorus son of Leucadius recurs in CPR V 24.2, which can now be shown to be of Oxyrhynchite provenance. Leucadius may well be the same as a known boat-owner, cf. VII 1048 15 Λευκαδίου πλοίων (XLII 3079 5 πλοίων Λευκαδίου refers to an earlier Leucadius, cf. *ZPE* 143 (2003) 164). The *curialis* Leucadius of XXXIV 2718 3 (458) might have belonged to the same family.

The addition of the patronymic might serve to distinguish this Theodorus from another eminent Oxyrhynchite of this name, viz. the landowner who appears with the title λαμπρότατος in LV 3803 2 (411) and P. Oslo II 35.4 (426, cf. BL VII 124), perhaps the same as the ναύαρχος Fl. Theodoros son of Theon in P. Select. 8.4 (421); see LV 3803 2 n., and *ZPE* 141 (2002) 159–60.

Ἰουλι. [ . . . Ἰουλίω or Ἰουλια[νῶ].

2 Checkmark rather than abbreviation stroke? Cf. 6.

Πτολεμίου λαμ(προτάτου). See 4676 1 n. Not previously known as a *vir clarissimus*. Ships of Ptoleminis occur in P. Heid. IV 313.12 and P. Oslo III 88.22–3.

λαμ(προτάτου). On the clarissimate in early fifth-century Egypt, see *Tyche* 17 (2002) 86, with references.

ὑπὸ Θεώνα. Possibly the same person as Theon in 6; cf. Agathus in 5 and 11.

3 Ἰωσήφ λαμ(προτάτου). Not previously known as a *vir clarissimus*. His possible identification with a known Oxyrhynchite *curialis*, on whom see 4684 3 n., is discussed in the introduction.

ὑπὸ Θεόδωρον Π[. [ . . . One may compare the skipper in VII 1048 2 ὑπὸ Θεόδωρον Παριτ, written some time after 392. He cannot have occurred in P. Harr. I 94.9 ὑπὸ Θεόδωρον κυβερ(νήτην), since the text is much earlier than 4685; see *ZPE* 143 (2003) 164–5.

4 Ἰερακίανος. Presumably the same person as the πολιτευόμενος in P. Heid. IV 314 ii 2. The absence of an indication such as πολι(τευομένου) or λαμ(προτάτου) may be an accident.

Ἰούκτορα. The name is not attested elsewhere, but probably Οὐκίτορα was intended; for Ἰου- representing Οὐ-, see P. Turner 32.10 n.

5 Τατιανού πολι(τευομένου). Cf. perhaps front l. 10. On this person, see 4680 1 n. A πολιτευόμενος Tatianus also occurs in CPR V 24.1, 12.

ὑπὸ Ἀ[γ]αθον Ἀγάθου. Cf. 11. Apparently identical with [Ἀρ]ήλιος Ἀγαθος Ἀγάθου κυβερνήτης πλοίου | [τῆ]ς θειοτάτης οἰκίας, attested in LXIII 4388 of 423.

6 Στρατηγίου λαμ(προτάτου). It is tempting to identify this Strategius with the πολιτευόμενος in P. Heid. IV 314 ii 6. See further the introduction above.

7 Δανιήλ Μακροβίου πολι(τευομένου). The patronymic may serve to distinguish this Daniel from Daniel son of Valerius, who occurs in the next line. Cf. also 4683 1. πολι(τευομένου) could apply either to the father, in which case we may expand πολι(τευομένου), or the son. Macrobius was a πολιτευόμενος; cf. P. Wash. Univ. II 83.1. A deceased πολιτευόμενος named Daniel occurs in VI 913 3–4 (443, cf. BL VII 132; BL X 139 suggests reading πολιτευσα]μένου in place of ed. pr.'s προπολιτευο]μένου); but this could also be the son of Valerius.

On Macrobius, see LXVI 4529 3 n.; ships of his occur in 1048 11 and 14.

8 Δα[v]ι[η]λ Ὀυαλερίου λαμ(προτάτου). On Daniel and his father Valerius, see 4682 4–5 n.

9 Ἀταν. A rare name, otherwise attested only in O. Leid. 24.4, 17 (III BC; though note that the reading is not entirely certain), P. Mich. III 219.22 (end of IV); cf. BL XI 131, and P. Lond. V 1652.14, 16 (IV). Editors treat it as a perispomenon.

10 The name of the *clarissimus* is lost. To judge from the space, it must have been short. Of known Oxyrhynchite *vir clarissimi* of this date other than those attested in 4685, namely Limenius, Phoebammon, Samuel, Saturnilus, Theodorus, Theophilus, and Timagenes, only Samuel would fit, and in fact there is a reference to a πλοίων Καμουηλίου in LVI 3862 22 (IV/V). On Samuel, attested between 417 and 438, see *Tyche* 17 (2002) 85–6.

11 πλ(οίων) c.9 π]ολι(τευομένου) ὑπὸ Ἀγαθον [Ἀγάθου (?). The πολιτευόμενος whose name is lost may have been Tatianus, if the captain is the same as the one who occurs in 5. But this is not necessary; Agathus may have been a captain of more than one ship, or in the service of more than one shipowner (cf. the skipper Apphus in XLII 3079), or this may be a second Agathus.

N. GONIS

## 4686. TOP OF A LEASE

86/38(a)

18.5 × 9.2 cm

5 September 440

This and 4693–4 are the earliest items in the archive of Flavius Eulogius (*PLRE* II 421, Eulogius 10) and his descendants; for a recent overview and bibliography, see T. M. Hickey, J. G. Keenan, *AnPap* 8–9 (1996–97) 209 ff. All three concern Eulogius, whose activity is now shown to span at least thirty-six years; he is first attested in 440 (4686), last heard of as alive in 476 (XVI 1958), while he was dead by 487 (XVI 1961). His previous earliest attestation was in 1958.

What was already known is that Eulogius was a native of Oxyrhynchus, where he possessed a number of properties, and a civil servant. His descendants were likewise members of the *militia civilis* and property-owners. (According to E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 39, the archive is unique in illustrating ‘the actual rise of a family into the landowning class’, but this is not true.) 4686 now casts unexpected light on Eulogius’ earlier life: we see him as an owner of property, which he offers for lease, at a time when he

is not in imperial service and is a merc Aurelius. Clearly, civil or imperial service provided plenty of opportunity for enrichment and social mobility, but if Eulogius was a man of certain means before joining the service, his wealth did not entirely originate in it. This may serve as a warning when studying the staff of the civil service of the Later Empire, as well as the much-discussed links between the bureaucracy of the time and the 'new' landowning class.

The part of the archive published in volume XVI was found mostly together during Grenfell and Hunt's first excavation season at Bahnasa; see **1876** introd. **4693** comes from the sixth excavation season; **4686** and **4694** possibly stem from the same excavation, but were probably not found together. We may consider whether the three new papyri lay not very far from the texts of volume XVI: in their sixth season, Grenfell and Hunt returned to the mounds partly dug in the first; see *Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Report* 16 (1906–7) 8–11.

The object of the lease has not survived, but there are several indications that it concerned city property: both parties to the transaction are said to originate or reside in the city of Oxyrhynchus, the lease is set to start in the month of Thoth (see 5 n.), and the majority of the documents in the archive are leases of house property in Oxyrhynchus.

ὑπατία Φλαουίου Ἀνατολίου τοῦ λαμπρο(σάτου), Θῶθ η.  
 Ἀβρηλίῳ Εὐλογίῳ υἱῷ Ὠρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ  
 λαμπροτ[άτης] Ὀξυρυγχι[τῶν] πόλεως παρὰ Ἀβρηλίου Ψαείου  
 υἱὸς Βησᾶτος καταμένον[ν]τος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει. ἐκουσίως  
 5 ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Θῶθ  
 τ[οῦ] ἐ[νε]ρ[ε]τ[ω]τος ἔτους ρ[ιζ] πς τῆς [παρο]ύσης ἐν[άτης]  
 [ἰνδικτ]ή[ονο]ς .[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

μί(σθωσις) Ψαείου .[

1 ὑπατία, l. ὑπατεία λαμπρ 4 υἱος, l. υἱοῦ 8 ψ

'In the consulship of Flavius Anatolius, *vir clarissimus*, Thoth 8.

'To Aurelius Eulogius, son of Horion, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Psaeius, son of Besas, residing in the same city. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the present month of Thoth of the current year 117/86 of the present ninth indiction . . .'

Back: 'Lease of Psaeius . . .'

1 For the consulship, see *CLRE* 414–15; cf. 416–17; see also **4687** introd. para. 2. For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 82, 96.

2 Ἀβρηλίῳ Εὐλογίῳ. This is the only text in which Eulogius occurs with the *gentilicium* Aurelius. The transition from Aurelius to Flavius is also documented in the case of his sons: contrast e.g. XVI **1961** (487), referring to Aurelii Martyrius and Apphus, with XVI **1962** = SB XVI 12583 (500), in which the two brothers appear as Flavii.

Ὠρίωνος. Cf. **4693** 4, **4694** 4. In XVI **1958** 4 Eulogius' patronymic was read as Ὠριγγέ[ου]ς, which may be corrected to Ὠρίων[ο]ς; although the papyrus is very abraded at this point, the new reading is hardly in doubt.

5 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Θῶθ. Many Oxyrhynchite leases of buildings are set to begin in the month of Thoth; see H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur MIZΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Rechte der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (1985) 180–1.

6 For Oxyrhynchite era year 117/86 = 440/1, see *CSBE* 82.

N. GONIS

#### 4687. LEASE OF LAND

30 4B.39/C(1-4)b

15.5 × 15.5 cm

26 May 441  
Plate XIV

This text, of which only the upper right part is preserved, is a lease of three aruras in the possession of an Oxyrhynchite *curialis* whose name has not survived; a reference to the acquisition history of the land is included, but the details are lost. The lease is likely to have been of indefinite duration, cf. P. Mich. XI 611 (412), P. Berl. Zill. 7 (574), LVIII **3955** (611), etc.

The text is of considerable interest for its postconsular dating clause. The consuls of 440 were Valentinianus Aug. V and Fl. Anatolius. 'Up to May or June, only Anatolius was disseminated in the East; the order in [*Fasti*] *Heracl[eani]* reflects the fact that Valentinian was added only subsequently. The laws were all corrected except *NovTheod* 19 [20.v.440], but the papyri never do show Valentinian's fifth consulate' (*CLRE* 415). **4687** now shows that Valentinian was eventually disseminated in Egypt.

The first four lines seem to be in a different hand from that responsible for the rest of the document. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

(m. 1) [† μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δε]σπότης ἡ[μῶν] Ὀυαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου  
 [ (vac.) Ἀυγούστου τὸ ε κα]ὶ Φλ(αουίου) Ἀνα[τολίου τ]οῦ λαμπρο(τάτου), Παῦνι α.  
 [ c.15 ] ἡ τῶ αἰδεσίμῳ πολιτευομένῳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
 [καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀ]ξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως παρὰ Ἀβρηλίου Τραειανοῦ  
 5 (m. 2) [ἀπὸ ἐποικίου c.4 -]μῶνος τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ.  
 [ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχ]ομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
 [ριζ πς σπορᾶς τ]ῆς δεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 [ c.25 ] τῆς σῆς πολιτείας ἥτοι πρώην  
 [ c.8 ἐν πεδίοις κώμης Μερ]μέρθων ἐδάφους Γεροντίου  
 10 [καλουμένου c.14 ἀ]ρούρας τρεῖς εἰς σπορὰν ὧν  
 [ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γεννημάτων καὶ τελ]έσω ὑπ[έρ] φ[όρου] ἀποτάκτου

2 φλς λαμπρ<sup>ο</sup> 4 Ι. Τραιανοῦ

After the consulship of our master Valentinianus, the eternal Augustus, for the 5th time, and Flavius Anatolius, *vir clarissimus*, Paumi 1.

‘To . . . the revered *curialis* of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Traianus from the farmstead of — mon, of your admirableness, of the said nome. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the current year 117/86, for the sowing of the tenth indiction, from the property belonging . . . your city (?), that is, formerly . . . in the lands of the village of Mermertha, of a ground called ‘Of Gerontius’, . . . three aruras, for the sowing of whatever crops I may choose, and I shall pay as fixed rent . . .’

1–2 For the consuls see above, introd.

2 Ἀνα[τολίου. A reading Ἀναθ[εμίου, i.e., a dating by Valentinianus Aug. VIII and Fl. Anthemius v.c. coss. 455, should probably be ruled out, even if spacing is inconclusive, and the remains of the letter on the edge of the break, a short left-hand curve, would not exclude ε. The news of the death of Valentinian (on 16.iii.455) and of the consuls of the year became known in Egypt towards the middle of September 455; see *ZPE* 138 (2001) 140. All Egyptian instances of that consulate known to date (P. Münch. III.1 102 of 20.ix.455; P. Yale I 71 of 28.viii.456; P. Bodl. I 52 of 11.iii.457, cf. *ZPE* 138 (2001) 140) indicate that it was common knowledge that Valentinian was no longer alive. But **4687** refers to him as if he were among the living, so that it cannot have had a date by the postconsulate of 455.

3–4 πολιτευομένου τῆς λαμπρᾶς | [καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀ]ξύρυνχιδῶν πόλεως. Cf. **4678** 3–4 n. That this *curialis* is to be identified with Fl. Strategius, *curator* of the *domus divina*, attested as in **L 3584**, is one possibility, cf. below 9 n.

5 ἐποικίου c.4 -]μῶνος τῆς εἰς θανασιότητος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. Κνα]μῶνος is an attractive possibility: this settlement occurs in **XIX 2244** ii 9 (VI) immediately after entries referring to Mermertha, mentioned here in l. 9. For the collocation cf. **XXXIV 2724** 6–7 (469) ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Χαῖρᾶ κτήματος τῆς | εἰς θανασιότητος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ.

7 Oxyrhynchite era year 117/86 = 440/1; see *CSBE* 82. Cf. **4686** 6.

σποράς. For the supplement, cf. P. Mich. XI 611.7 (412), P. Oslo II 35.10 (426, cf. BL VII 124), **L 3582** 5 (442), **VI 913** 8 (443, cf. BL VII 132), **LXIII 4390** 7 (469).

σποράς τ]ῆς δεκάτης ἰνδικτιώνος. Cf. **4677** 9 n. The reference is to the fiscal indiction, which started on 1 May 441.

8–9 At the beginning of 8, perhaps restore [χοὶ καὶ περιελθόντων εἰς ἐὲ ὑπὸ], which would fit the space; for the construction, cf. e.g. **LXIII 4390** 8 (469), **SB XVI 12946.3** (474), P. Flor. III 325.7 (489, cf. BL VII 53), P. Mich. XI 612.9–10 (514). At the start of 9, there probably stood the name of the previous owner.

The land under lease was previously the property of someone other than the lessor, and the city seems to have played a role in determining the current status of the land. The situation might be comparable to that in P. Flor. III 325 (489), discussed by I. F. Fichman, ‘Kurienland in Oxyrhynchos?’, in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (1974) 343–6: in that text, Fl. Strategius II, in the capacity of *curialis*, seems to have received through the *boule* the fourth share of the estate of a deceased *curialis* (in l. 8, for γεναμένου πρίνκιπος read γεναμένου πολιτευομένου — unpublished correction of K. A. Worp, reported to me by R. Pintaudi, whom I thank).

9 Με]μῆρθων. A village in the southern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome (Upper Toparchy; 1st pagus); see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell’Ossirinchie* (1981) 103–5, with **LXIII 4390** 6 n. Is it a mere coincidence that Fl. Isis, *femina clarissima*, held an estate in the area of this village, inherited from her father, ‘Strategius of glorious memory’ (= Fl. Strategius I)? The latter is probably the sometime *curator* of the *domus divina*, an early representative of the Apion family.

Γεροντίου. This location is not known otherwise.

9–10 For the supplements cf. **SB III 6612.8–9** (365) and P. Mich. XI 611.8–9 (412). In **VI 913** 9–10, where

the edition prints ἐν πεδίῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας κόμης ἐδάφους | [σιτικοῦ, it is more likely that the lacuna carried away the name of the ἐδάφος than σιτικοῦ. For the expression, cf. also P. Oslo II 35.13, as read in *ZPE* 141 (2002) 161, and **4677** 11.

10–11 Cf. **LXIII 4390** 15–16 (469), P. Flor. III 325.13 (489), **PSI I 77.21–2** (551; cf. **Bl. VII 232**). A similar collocation should perhaps be restored in **LXIII 4379** 12–14, edited thus:

μίαν c.5–10 ἐκκαιδε]κατον δυοτρι[ακοστών ὥστε ταύτας  
σπείραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι οἷς ἐ]ἄν αἰρώμα[ι  
c.20 letters ] . ακτο[

The editor considered the possibility of restoring χωρὶς ἰσάτε]ως καὶ ὀχομένου, φόρον ἀπο]τάκτο[υ (see **4379** 13–14 n.), which would produce a formulation last attested in a text of 266. But this is not necessary. It is conceivable that δυοτρι[ακοστών was followed by one further fraction of the arura, such as the one for 1/64, which would fill the space at the end of line 12 and the beginning of 13. Thus I suggest reading the following text:

μίαν c.5–10 ἐκκαιδε]κατον δυοτρι[ακοστών τετρα-  
καιεξηκοστών εἰς σπορὰν ἂν ἐ]ἄν αἰρώμα[ι γενημάτων  
καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ φόρον ἀπο]τάκτο[υ

N. GONIS

#### 4688. DEED OF SURETY

119/50(b)

11.2 × 16 cm

1 May – 24 June 442?  
Plate XV

The upper right part of a deed of surety concerning two farmers, addressed to an Oxyrhynchite *curialis* whose name is lost. The papyrus breaks off at the point where the duties of the persons under surety were about to be described. By analogy with P. Heid. IV 306 (413), we may assume that the farmers were obliged to remain in their hamlet and work on the land; see below 11 n. In Oxyrhynchus such deeds of surety become common from the sixth century onwards, and uniformly involve ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί (*coloni adscripticii*). But P. Heid. 306 and **4688** come from a time when that class of agricultural workers had not become ἐναπόγραφοι. For a list of Oxyrhynchite deeds of surety (fifth to seventh centuries) see G. Bastianini, in *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII: 1980) 26; documents published since are **LVIII 3959**, P. Heid. IV 306, P. Wash. Univ. I 24, 25, 26, **SB XVIII 13949**, 14006, and now **4688** and **4703**.

The main interest of the document resides in its indictional date. The text, which carries a postconsular dating by Fl. Cyrus cos. 441, was written some day in Pachon or Paumi of an eleventh indiction. If we assume that at Oxyrhynchus this indiction 11 ran from 29 August 442 to 28 August 443, the date of the papyrus should fall between 26 April (Pachon 1) and 24 June (Paumi 30) 443. But a postconsular dating to the consuls of 442 is attested in **SB XX 14425** of 24 April (Pharmouthi 29) 443. This could be another case of conflicting consular dates; cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 28–32. But if the indiction were reckoned from 1 May, or if the scribe used the ἀρχῆ ἢ ἰνδικτιώνος formula, the difficulty disappears. See further above, **4681** 9–11 n., and below, 2 n. and 3 n.

Four vertical panels are visible. The writing is along the fibres on what was the recto

of the roll, as shown by a kollesis running close to the right edge. The back is blank except for a few ink spots, apparently offsets.

[ ] χμγ  
 [μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα]ουίου Κύρου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου), Πα[. . . n]  
 [ ] α, ἰνδικτίονος ἐν Ὁξυρύνχων [ ]  
 [ ] α.15 τῶ αἰ]δεσίμω πολιτευομένω τ[ῆ]ς  
 5 [λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτά]της Ὁξυρυνχιτῶν πόλεως Α[ῦρ]ήλιος  
 [ ] α.14 ἀπὸ τῆ]ς αὐτῆς π[ό]λεως χαίρειν. [ό]μολογῶ  
 [ἐπομνύμενος Θεὸν τὸν π]αντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβιαν τῶν  
 [τὰ πάντα νικῶντων]ν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Φλ(αουίω)ν Θεοδο[ρίου]  
 [Ὁὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνί]ων Αὐγούστων ἑκουσία καὶ αὐθαι-  
 10 [ρῆτος γνώμη ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ] ἀναδεδέχθαι Αὐρηλίους Καρμάτην  
 [ ] α.15 ἀμφοτ]έρους γεωργοὺς ἀπὸ ἐποικίου

2 φλα]ουίου λαμπρ<sup>ο</sup> 7 Ι. εὐσέβιαν 8 φλς

‘643. After the consulship of Flavius Cyrus, *vir clarissimus*, Pa— [n], indiction 11, at Oxyrhynchus.

‘To . . . the revered *curialis* of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius . . . from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge, swearing by almighty God and the piety of our all-conquering masters Flavii Theodosius (and) Valentinianus, the eternal Augusti, that of my own free will and choice I stand as surety and have undertaken the responsibility for Aurelii Sarmates and . . . both (of them) farmers from the hamlet . . .’

1 χμγ. Cf. **4689** 1, **4695** 1, **4696** 1, **4697** 1, **4698** 1. On this Christian symbol, which, following D. Hagedorn, P. Hcid. IV 333.1 n., I take to represent an isopscphism for Θεός βοηθός, see the references in CPR XXIII 34.1 n. **4688** and **4689** now become the earliest dated instances of the symbol in documents from Oxyrhynchus, though there are attestations in papyri assigned palaeographically to the late fourth or early fifth century.

2 At the end of the line restore Πα[χών or Πα[ῦνι; for the implications see above, introd.

On the consulship, see *CLRE* 416–17; cf. 442. The consular date clauses of 441–2 have caused difficulty; see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 29, and *CLRE* 417. Cyrus, better known as a poet from Panopolis, was the consul of 441, but fell from grace in the summer of that year. ‘He did not suffer *damnatio memoriae*, though the fact that P. Mil. II 64.1 reverts to the p.c. of 440 might be interpreted as a sign of caution’ (*CLRE* *ibid.*). This statement needs qualification. According to Bagnall and Worp, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 226 (= BL VII 103), P. Mil. 64 contains a postconsular formula of Fl. Anatolius cos. 440, and should date to 6 December 441; some three months earlier, Heracleopolis dated by the consulship of Cyrus (P. Rain. Cent. 94). The postconsular formula of P. Mil. 64 relies on restoration, as well as on reading the indiction figure in line 9 as δ[ε]κάτης (ἐνάτης ed. pr.). But the published photograph (Tav. XXV = O. Montevccchi, *La Papirologia* Tav. 95) supports the reading of ed. pr.: although Δ could well be read in place of ε, the break is not wide enough to accommodate ε and the largest part of the putative κ. As for the consular formula, the restored μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν would certainly account for the space better than ὑπατείας; in that case, μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν would be a mistake for ὑπατείας, which would not be without parallel.

Alternatively, one may consider whether the scribe wrote ὑπατείας and left a blank space after it, but perhaps this is less likely. The dating of P. Mil. 64 to 441 also appears anomalous in view of the postconsular clause of **4687**, as well as of the postconsular datings to Cyrus; cf. the table below. P. Mil. 64 should therefore be dated to 440; Cyrus’ fall from imperial favour was not reflected in his consular clauses.

When the consuls of 442 were disseminated in Egypt is not known. SB XX 14425 is dated p.c. Fl. Eudoxii & Dionysii, but Eudoxius’ Western colleague in the consulship was Dioscorus, so that this must be an error for p.c. Eudoxii & Dioscori; see J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 139–40. Eudoxius and Dioscorus are attested in the postconsular formula of VI **913**, of 16 October 443 (cf. BL VII 132). On 13 November 443 a scribe in Middle Egypt (Heracleopolis) dated by Petronius Maximus II and Fl. Paterius cos. 443 (CPR X 39, largely restored, but probably certain; the alternative would be a date in 503, but the hand has a decisively earlier look).

In conclusion, the Egyptian consular datings of the period 440–3 may be tabulated as follows:

P. Harr. I 87	Fl. Anatolio v.c. cos.	Epciph 3	27.vi.440
LXVIII <b>4686</b>	Fl. Anatolio v.c. cos.	Thoth 8, ind. 9	5.ix.440
P. Mil. II 64	Fl. Anatolio v.c. cos. (?)	Choiak 10, ind. 9	6.xii.440
LXVIII <b>4687</b>	p.c. D. N. Valentiniani Aug. V & Fl. Anatolii v.c.	Pauni 1, ind. 10	26.v.441
P. Rain. Cent 94	Fl. Cyro Hierace v.c. cos.	Thoth 7	4.ix.441
BGU II 609	Fl. Cyro v.c. cos.	Hathyr 16, ind. 11	<sup>a</sup> 12.xi.441
SB XIV 11434	p.c. Fl. Cyri v.c.	Phamenoth	25.ii – 26.iii.442
LXVIII <b>4688</b>	p.c. Fl. Cyri v.c.	Pachon/Pauni, ind. 11	1.v – 24.vi.442
LXVIII <b>4689</b>	p.c. Fl. Cyri v.c.	Thoth 1, ind. 11	29.viii.442
LXVIII <b>4690</b>	p.c. Fl. Cyri v.c.	Thoth 13	10.ix.442
SB XX 14425	p.c. Fl. Eudoxii & Dionysii (sic) vv.cc.	Pharmuthi 29, ind. 11	24.iv.443
VI <b>913</b>	p.c. Fl. Eudoxii & Dioscori vv.cc.	Phaophi 18	16.x.443
CPR X 39	Fl. Maximo II & Paterio vv.cc. coss.	Hathyr 16	13.xi.443

<sup>a</sup> or 442, if cos. a mistake for p.c.

3 α, ἰνδικτίονος. For the implications of the indictional date see above, introd. I have considered the possibility that the papyrus had ἀρχῆ α, ἰνδικτίονος, but this would be unusual in an Oxyrhynchite text of this date, since the ἀρχῆ formula is not attested earlier than 473 (LIX **3985**); the formula is normally presented as ἰνδικτίονος x, ἀρχῆ of x + 1, though LXII **4349** 1 (504) and XVI **1994** 2 (505), as well as the Cynopolite P. Köln III 151.3–4 (423) have the shortened formulation ἀρχῆ of x ἰνδικτίονος. I would exclude that the papyrus had ἰνδικτίονος ἀρχῆ α, ἰνδικτίονος, even if there were space for it: ἰνδικτίονος would not have been written twice.

A further point of interest is that this is the second earliest mention of the indiction in the dating clause of an Oxyrhynchite document, after BGU III 936 = *W.Chr.* 123 (30.iv.426); cf. K. A. Worp, *APF* 33 (1987) 94.

4–5 πολιτευομένω τ[ῆ]ς [λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτά]της Ὁξυρυνχιτῶν πόλεως. Cf. **4678** 3–4 n.

7–9 For this form of the imperial oath see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 207–8; cf. Z. M. Packman, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 207. For the restored ἐπομνύμενος in 7, cf. XVI **1880** 13 and **1881** 15 (both of 427) — the more common ὁμνός would be too short for the space.

8 [τὰ πάντα νικῶντων]ν seems short for the space, but I do not see what else could have been lost.

Φλ(αουίω)ν. The abbreviation used suggests reading Φλ(αουίω), but XVI **1881** 16 (427), where the word is written out in full, may imply that Φλαουίω)ν was meant. CPR VI 6.13 (Herm.; 439) has Φλ(αουίω) Θεοδοσίω)ν Οὐαλεντινιανω)ν.

9 For the postulated omission of καὶ between the names of the emperors, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 10 (1973) 172, and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 142.

11 The lacuna must have carried away Sarmates’ patronymic as well as the second farmer’s name and patronymic. But there does not seem to be enough space for three names in the break, even if these were short. Perhaps one or even both of the patronymics were not given, which would be unusual, or the two farmers were brothers.

ἀμφοτ]έρους γεωργοὺς. On this kind of agricultural labourer see J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 190–2, 231–2; cf. LXVII **4616** 7–8 n. It should be specified that ἐναπογρά]φους is not a possible reading.

The duties the two farmers were to perform are unknown, but one may compare P. Heid. IV 306 (413), a surety for a person πα[ρα]μένοντ[α] ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐποικείω καὶ ὑπ[ο]υργουόντ[α] πάντα τὰ γεουχικά | ἔργα κα[ὶ] μὴ ἀπολιμ[πανόμ]εν[ο]ν; cf. also P. Wisc. I 12 (345), P. Oslo III 113 (346), P. Fouad I 20 (441-4, cf. BL VII 55), or P. Vind. Sijp. 7 (463, cf. BL VIII 199).

N. GONIS

## 4689. LEASE OF PART OF A HOUSE

2 IB.102/G(b)

16. 4 × 15.2 cm

29 August 442

The upper part of a lease of a three-quarter share of a house, the lessor being a *stationarius*. The lease was probably of indefinite tenure, terminable at the will of the lessor. The amount of rent is lost. The house was located in the ἀμφοδον Ἐξαγορ(ε)ίου, a new Oxyrhynchite quarter.

χιμγ

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουῖου) Κύρου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,

Θῶθ α.

Φλαουῖω Ἰσάκ στατιωναρίω υἱῷ Ἡσυχίου

- 5 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρνηχι-  
τῶν πόλεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀνουθίου υἱοῦ Παμουνίου  
λευκαντοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐκουσίως  
ἐπιδέχομαι μισθῶσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς  
Θῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ριθ πη τῆς ἐνδεκάτης  
10 ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει  
ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Ἐξαγορίου ἡμῖν τέταρτον μέρος  
ἐκ [τ]ῆς ὀλοκλήρου οἰκίας σὺν χρῆ[στ]ηρίοις πᾶς[ι] κ[αὶ]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 2) μίσθ(ωσις) Ἀνουθίου λ[ευκαντοῦ

2 1. ὑπατεῖαν ὑπατιαν φλς 4 φλαουῖω ἰσάκ υἱῷ 6 υἱοῦ 10 ἰνδικτίονος ὑπαρχόντων  
11 1. Ἐξαγορείου 13 μισθ

643. After the consulship of Flavius Cyrus, *vir clarissimus*, Thoth 1.

To Flavius Isac, *stationarius*, son of Hesychius, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Anuthius son of Pamunius, bleacher, from the same city. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the present month of Thoth of the current year 119/88 of the eleventh indiction, from the property belonging to you in the

same city in the quarter of the Proclamation Hall, a three-quarter share of the whole house with all (its) appurtenances and . . .'

Back: 'Lease of Anuthius, bleacher . . .'

2 On the consulship of Flavius Cyrus, see 4688 2 n.

4 Φλαουῖω Ἰσάκ στατιωναρίω. This *stationarius* is not known from elsewhere. On the office, see LXIII 4382 2 n., LXVI 4529 8 n.

7 λευκαντοῦ. On this occupation, see LIX 3987 introd. para. 2.

9 Oxyrhynchite era year 119/88 = 442/3, and indiction 11 = 442/3; see CSBE 82.

11 ἀμφοδου Ἐξαγορίου. This district of Oxyrhynchus appears to be new. It seems to have been named after a place called Ἐξαγόρειον; see I.XIV 4441 v 13 n.; cf. J. R. Rea, ZPE 79 (1989) 202.

12 ἐκ [τ]ῆς ὀλοκλήρου οἰκίας. This syntagm has not been found in any other papyrus, though cf. SB VI 8987.14, 20 (644/5) ἐκ τῆς πάσης οἰκίας.

N. GONIS

## 4690. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT

93/Dec. 27/C.1

18.5 × 14 cm

10 September 442

The upper right part of what seems to be an acknowledgement of indebtedness. An Oxyrhynchite whose name is lost appears to have borrowed a number of solidi from Athanasius, *curialis*; his guarantor for the repayment of the loan was a certain Aurelius Petrus son of Leontius. The debt was probably paid through the guarantor; in this text the borrower acknowledges that he owes Petrus a sum that would make up the total of the money guaranteed.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

[μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν Φλαου]ίου Κύρου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου), Θῶθ ιγ, ι.

[ c.18 ] ἀμμωνος ἀ[πὸ] τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρνηχιδῶν

[πόλεως Αὐρηλίω Πέ]τρω υἱῷ Λεοντίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ

[ὀφείλειν σοι καὶ χρεωστεῖ]ν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἀντιφωνηθέντων παρὰ σοῦ

5 [ c.18 ] διδόναι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ Ἀθανασίω πολιτενομένῳ διὰ Θεοδώρου

[ c.5 χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ἀπ]λ[ᾶ] δε[σπο]τικ[ᾶ] εὔσταθμα δόκιμα ἀριθμῶ

[ c.27 ἀκίνδυνα] παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες

[ἀποδώσω c.28 ] . . . [τ]οῦ ἐ[νεστ]ῶτος ἔτου[υς ριθ πη]

[ c.50 ] . . . [ c.8 ]

1 λαμπρο 3 υἱῷ

After the consulship of Flavius Cyrus, *vir clarissimus*, Thoth 13.

. . . of —ammon, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Petrus son of Leontius, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I owe

you and am indebted, to complete the . . . guaranteed by you . . . to give on my behalf to Athanasius, *curialis*, through Theodorus . . . pure, imperial, of full weight, approved solidi of gold . . . in number . . . free from all risk, I shall of necessity repay . . . of the present year 119/88 . . .'

1 On the consulship, see **4688** 2 n. The restoration of the postconsulate is suggested by spacing. This would be the latest known Egyptian dating by the postconsulate of Fl. Cyrus.

4 [ὄφειλεν σοι καὶ χρεωστῆ]ν. The restorations are by no means secure, even if one may adduce VI **914** 6–7 (486), PSI III 246.9–10 (526), possibly SB XIV 11601.6–7 (489?), and a number of 'sales in advance of delivery' such as XVI **1973** 8 (420), X **1320** 7 (497), XVI **1974** 9–10 (538, cf. BL VII 173), etc.

ἀντιφωνηθέντων. See LIX **4007** 4 n.; cf. P. Köln VII 319.8 n. with references.

5 At the start of the line restore e.g. [νομιματίων ἐπὶ τῷ ε].

Ἀθανασίῳ πολιτευομένῳ. He is probably the same as the one addressed in P. Mil. II 45.3 (449) as Φλα(αουίῳ) Ἀ[θ]ανασίῳ τῷ αἰδεσίμ(ῳ) πολιτευομένῳ καὶ ῥιπαρίῳ. VII **1048** 5, which mentions a πλ(οίων) Ἀθανασίου πολιτευομένου, must refer to a different person, since the text cannot be much later than the very beginning of the fifth century. This Athanasius should not be confused with the βουλευτής whose ship is mentioned in P. Harr. I 94.4 (IV); the latter might be identical with the προπολιτευόμενος of this name in XLVIII **3394** 16 (364–6?), see *ZPE* 143 (2003) 164–5. Thus it seems that from mid fourth to mid fifth century there were at least three persons of this name who were members of the *ordo curialis* of Oxyrhynchus (cf. K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 218).

8 For the restored era year 119/88, cf. **4689** 9. A reference to the indiction current, i.e. τῆς ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος, may have followed in l. 9.

N. GONIS

**4691. TOP OF DOCUMENT**

106/89(c)

6.3 × 4.8 cm

16 April 453

To judge from the prescript, the original document was probably a contract. Its post-consular date clause supplements the details furnished by **4692**.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

[μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου] Σπορακίου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου)  
[καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου, Φαρ]μουῦθι κα.  
[ c.20 (-)αν]τηνόου ἀπὸ κώμης  
[ c.25 ] . . [ c.4 ] ε . . υ

2 λαμπρο

'After the consulship of Flavius Sporacius, *vir clarissimus*, and of the (consul) to be announced, Pharmouthi 21.

' . . . son of — antinous from the village . . .'

1–2 On the consulship see **4692** 1–2 n. Line 2 is restored after **4692** 2.

3 (-)αν]τηνόου. This is part of the patronymic of the person whose name is lost in the break.

N. GONIS

**4692. FRAGMENT OF A LEASE**

85/36(c)

11 × 9.5 cm

31 July 453

The upper right part of a lease; that both contracting parties are said to originate or reside in the city of Oxyrhynchus, and that the lease is set to start in the month of Thoth, may suggest that the object of the lease was city property.

The text is of interest for its postconsular formula, which furnishes the latest instance of the (post)consulship of 452; see below 1–2 n.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

[μετὰ τὴν ὑπατ]είαν Φλαουίου Σπορακίου τοῦ  
[λαμπρο(τάτου) καὶ τ]οῦ δηλωθησομένου, Μεσορῆ ζ.  
[Ἀυρήλιος c.4 ] , c υἱὸς Πέτρου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν  
[πόλεως Ἀυρηλ]ίῳ Ἰερακίῳ υἱῷ Πεκυκίου  
5 [ c.12 ] ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐκουσίως  
[ἐπιδέχομαι μιν]θώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ  
[τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους] ρλ ρθ τῆς ἐβδόμης | [ἰνδικτίωνος

'After the consulship of Flavius Sporacius, *vir clarissimus*, and of the (consul) to be announced, Mesore 7.

'Aurelius — s son of Petrus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Hieracion son of Pecysius, (now resident?) at the said city. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from Thoth of the coming year 130/99 of the seventh indiction . . .'

1–2 On the consulship of Fl. Sporacius cos. 452, see *CLRE* 439; cf. 441; cf. also Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 33. Its other occurrences in papyri are in P. Vind. Sijp. 11 of 17 February 453, and **4691** of 16 April 453. P. Vind. Sijp. 11.1–3, from Hermopolis, offers a very elaborate version of the consular clause: [μετὰ τὴν ὑ]πατεί(αν) Φλα[υ]ρί[ου] Σπορακίου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) | [κα]ὶ ἄ[ν]δρ[ει]ο[τάτου] κ[α]ὶ τῶν (l. τοῦ) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας δηλ[ω]θη[σο]μένου. The consuls of 453 may first occur in a papyrus on 17 November (SPP XX 138, cf. BL IX 346–7; the papyrus could also date from 454).

5 What stood at the beginning of the line is not clear. [τὰ νῦν διάγοντ]ε or οἰκοῦντ]ε would fit, but before that one expects an indication of the person's *σῖγο*. [καταμένοντ]ε or [γεουχοῦντ]ε would be too short for the space.

6 μιν]θώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ. The collocation does not seem to have occurred elsewhere. We expect μινθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ (or ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνός) Θῶθ. That the lease is set to start in the month of Thoth offers an indication that the object of this lease was a building; see **4686** 5 n. Cf. also **4682** 8–9 n.

7 Oxyrhynchite era year 130/99 corresponds to 453/4; see *CSBE* 82; indiction 7 also ran from 453 to 454.

N. GONIS



## 4693. LEASE OF A ROOM

64 6B.60/K(1-3)a

18.8 × 18.2 cm

27 (?) February 466

This is the earliest dated document attesting Eulogius as a Flavius and in the capacity of *palatinus*, antedating XVI 1958 by some ten years; cf. also 4694. A further point of interest is that this is the first text from Egypt attesting the consuls of 465.

The object of the lease is a room (*μονόχωρον*); the lessee is a woman, native of Oxyrhynchus. The rent to be paid was 1,000+ myriads. The duration of the lease is not specified, but was probably terminable at the will of the lessor.

Like most other items of the archive, the papyrus has suffered much from abrasion, but very few readings are in doubt.

ⲫ ὑπατείας Φλ(αουίων) [Βα]σιλίσκου καὶ Ἑρμενεριχ τῶν λαμπροτάτων,  
Φ[α]μενώθ χ, δ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

Φλαουίῳ Εὐλογίῳ τῷ καθοικωμένῳ παλατίνῳ  
νιῶ τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μηνῆς Ὁρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς  
λαμπράς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξ[υ]ρυγιτών πό[λε]ως  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Πίνας θυγατρὸς[ε] Σαραπάμμω[νος]  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀ[ν]τιτῆς πόλεως. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι  
μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ [τ]οῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαμενώ[θ]  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος[ε] ἔτ[ο]ς ρ[ο]μβ[ρ]ια τῆς παρούσης[ε]  
τετάρτη[ε] ἰνδ[ι]κ[τ]ί[ο]νος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
τῆς εἰς εὐγενεία ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἰππέων  
Παρεμβολῆς δλόκληρον μονόχωρον νεῦρον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ  
εὐγενεῖ[ε] καὶ δικαίους πάσι καὶ τελέσῳ ὑπὲρ  
ἐνοικί[ο]ν[ε]ς ἐνιαυσίως ἀργυρί[ο]ν μυρ[ι]άδας χιλίας  
[ 3-4 ]κος[ι]ας, [ὅπερ ἐνοίκιον] ἀποδ[ί]ώσκω κατ' ἔτος  
δ[ι]εξ[α]μ[ή]νου τὸ ἡμισυ καὶ ὅπ[ο]ταν β[ο]υ[λ]ηθῆ[ε] παραδ[ί]ω[σ]ω

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ⲫ μίσθ(ωσις) Πίνα[ε] traces

1 ὑπατείας φλλ (?) ερμενεριχ' 2 ἰνδικ 3 φλαουίω 4 νιῶ  
10 ὑπαρχόντων 11 ὑπ'πεων 12 βορ'ρα 13 ἰ. εὐν ὑπερ 17 μισ<sup>δ</sup>

'In the consulship of Flavii Basiliscus and Hermenerich, *virii clarissimi*, Phamenoth 3 (?), indiction 4.

'To Flavius Eulogius, the *devotissimus palatinus*, son of Horion of blessed memory, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Pina, daughter of Sarapammon, from the same city. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the present month of Phamenoth of the current year 142/111 of the present fourth indiction from the property belonging to your nobility in the same city in the quarter of Hippeon Parembolē, a whole single room facing north with all appurtenances and rights, and I shall pay as rent annually one thousand . . . hundred myriads of silver, which rent I shall pay each year, one half every six months; and whenever you may wish I shall surrender . . .'

Back: 'Lease of Pina . . .'

1 Ἑρμενεριχ. A short oblique stroke added high after χ may serve to indicate that this is a foreign name.

1-2 Basiliscus and Hermenerich were the consuls of 465; see *CLRE* 464-5. This is their first occurrence in a papyrus, though their names are perhaps to be restored in P. Prag. I 44, which would then date to 25.ii - 26.iii.466 (so F. Reiter, in an unpublished note reported in *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*, version Beta 1.0).

The indiction (ll. 2, 10) and Oxyrhynchite era year (l. 9) point to 466; see *CSBE* 83. *ὑπατείας* should therefore stand for *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν*, a common mistake; cf. *CSBE* 50-4, with *BASP* 15 (1978) 234. Like 4693, most of the examples date 'from the early months of the year, when such an error is most natural'. Transmission of the names of the consuls for the year 465 was late: on 16 October 465 Oxyrhynchus still dated by the postconsulate of the consuls of 464 (P. Heid. IV 331).

3 *παλατίνῳ*. *Palatini* were 'all civil servants in the palatine ministries, officials of the *res privata* and the largitiones, the field army' (I.XIII 4370 9 n.). Eulogius is described as *palatinus* in all texts mentioning him except for 4686, which dates from before he joined the civil service, and XVI 1960 4 (511) *γενναμένου μαγιστριανοῦ*, a posthumous reference; but contrast 1961 6 (487) *γενομένου παλατίνου*, another posthumous reference. On the face of it, a *μαγιστριανός* (*agens in rebus*; but C. Gloss. Biling. II 9.31 renders *μαγιστριανός* as *magistrianus*) and a *palatinus* represent different offices; the latter was a financial official in the service of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, see R. Delmaire, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien* i (1995) 122 ff., the former in that of the *magister officiorum*, see B. Palme, CPR XXIII 11.4 n, and 22 introd. nn. 1-4 with references. Delmaire, *CRPEL* 10 (1988) 134, has argued that the term *palatinus* was sometimes used 'pour désigner tout fonctionnaire servant au palais et pas seulement les employés des services financiers centraux'; he cites the case of Eulogius as an example, implying that an *agens in rebus* could have been described as *palatinus*. But this depends on 1960, whose date, more than two decades after Eulogius' death, and singular status undermine its value as evidence. With the term *μαγιστριανός* widely in use in Byzantine Egypt (for the evidence, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 68 (1993) 165-7), it is difficult to see why a *μαγιστριανός* should consistently be called *παλατίνος* for such a long time.

6 Πίνας. For the name, see L 3555 5 n.

9 Year 142/111 = 465/6; see *CSBE* 83.

11 εὐγενεία. On this honorific abstract, see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 185.

11-12 ἀμφόδου Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς. This is the latest attestation of this Oxyrhynchite quarter; the references have been collected by S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 217.

12 μονόχωρον. On the term, see now R. Hatzilambrou, *JJP* 32 (2002) 40.

13 εὐγ (l. εὐν) χρηστ[ε]ρίσις. The same assimilation of ν in P. Bad. VI 172.17 (547); see Gignac, *Grammar* i 167.

## 4694. LEASE OF A HOUSE

95/162(a)

12.7 × 14.8 cm

14 December 466

Another lease of a house in the possession of Eulogius, drawn up some nine months after **4693**. As in **4693**, the lessee is a woman. The lease was probably terminable at the will of the lessor. The rent to be paid amounts to one and a half solidi annually. Much has been lost to the left of the document, but most of the lines can be restored with reasonable certainty.

The back is blank except for one trace on the edge.

[ὑπατείας τοῦ δε]ε[π[ό]του ἡμῶν Φλ(αουτίου) Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ γ//  
 [ (vac.) καὶ το]ῦ δηλωθησομένου, Χοιὰκ ιη//, ε ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
 [Φλαουτίω] Εὐλό[ο]γίω τῷ καθοσιωμέ[ν]ω παλατίνῳ υἱῷ  
 [τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας] μνήμης Ὡρίων[ος ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν  
 5 [πόλεως ε.5] . . . β. θυγάτηρ[ρ] Ὡρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 [πόλεως. ἐκου]σίως ἐπι[δέχ]ομαι μισθώσαθ(αι)  
 [ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος μηνός Τ]ύβι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 [ἔτους ρμγ ριβ τῆς ε ἰνδικτίω]νος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 [χόντων τῆ]ς εὐγενεία διακεμμένων ἐπὶ τῆςδε τῆς  
 10 [πόλεως ἐπ' ἀμφόδου ε.8 ὀλόκ]ληρον οἰκίαν  
 [κὺν χρηστηρίοις καὶ δικαίοις πᾶσι καὶ τε]λέσω ὑπὲρ ἐν-  
 [οικίου ἐνιαυσίως χρυσοῦ νομισμάτι]ον ἐν ἡμίσει,  
 [γί]νεται χρ(υσοῦ) νο[μισμάτιον] α ς, ὅπερ ἀποδώσω κατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμήνου τὸ  
 [ἡμίσει ε.25] . . . [ ε.7 ]

1 φλς 1 Αὐγούστου 2 ἰνδικ 3 ι. καθοσιωμένω 6 μισθώσαθς 8 ὑπαρ-

In the consulship of our master Flavius Leo, the eternal Augustus, for the 3rd time, and of the (consul) to be announced, Choiak 18, indiction 5.

To Flavius Eulogius, the *devotissimus palatinus*, son of Horion of blessed memory, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, (Aurelia) . . . , daughter of Horus, from the same city. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the coming month of Tybi of the current year 143/112 of the fifth indiction from the property belonging to your nobility situated in this city in the quarter of . . . , a whole house with all appurtenances and rights, and I shall pay as rent annually one and a half solidi of gold, total 1½ solidi of gold, which I shall pay each year, one half every six months . . .

1-2 On the third consulship of the emperor Leo I, see *CLRE* 466-7. Its only other instance in the papyrus is P. Rain. Cent. 104.1-2, whose consular formula adds *Ἀυτοκράτορος* and has *ἀποδειχθησομένου* in place of *δηλωθησομένου*. (The text of *M. Chr.* 71.19, on which see BL VIII 225 and IX 170, is very uncertain.)

5 In the lacuna supply *Ἀύρηλία*, however abbreviated.

8 For Oxyrhynchite era year 143/112 = 466/7 = indiction 5, see *CSBE* 83.

τῆς ε ἰνδικτίω]νος. τῆς πέμπτης ἰνδικτίω]νος would be too long for the space.

9 τῆς εὐγενεία is restored after **4693** 11, of the same year as **4694**, though contrast the later **1958** 11 (476) [τῆς ε]ἰς ἀρετῆς.

10 The name of the *ἀμφόδου* cannot be restored; Eulogius and his descendants owned property in various quarters of the city.

12 νομισμάτι]ον ἐν ἡμίσει. It is less likely that the rent amounted to 1½/3 solidi: there does not seem to be any space for *τρίτον* in the lacuna at the start of line 13.

N. GONIS

## 4695. TOP OF DOCUMENT

44 5B.62/F(2-5)a

15.5 × 9.8 cm

31 August 472

The upper part of an agreement between a son and a father; the details of the transaction escape us. The main body of the document begins with a statement that besides what the father had previously given to the son — then the papyrus breaks off. A settlement of claims is one possibility.

The main interest of the papyrus resides in its consular dating clause, which is the earliest Egyptian dating to the consuls of 472. It may now be established that the news of the consuls of the year reached Egypt late in the summer of 472, earlier than had been thought previously; see below 2-3 n.

χμ[μ]γ

Φ ὑπατία Φλαουτίου Μαρκιανού τοῦ λαμπροτάτου  
 καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου, Θῶθ γ, ια ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
 Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἀφούτος  
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν  
 πόλεως τῷ τιμοστάτῳ μου πατρὶ τῷ αὐτῷ  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀφούτι υἱῷ Αείωνος ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. χωρὶς τῶν  
 πρώην δωθέντων μοι παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ  
 10 [ ε.4 ] . . . [ . . . ] ε[ . . . ] ατιων .

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

Φ ὀμολ(ογία) Φοιβάμ[μω]νος

2 ὑπατια 1 ὑπατεία 3 ἰνδικ 4 υἱος 6 ι. τιμοστάτῳ 7 υἱω 9 ι. δωθέντων  
 11 ὀμολ

'643. In the consulship of Flavius Marcianus, *vir clarissimus*, and of the (consul) to be announced, Thoth 3, indiction 11.

Aurelius Phoebammon, son of Apphus, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, to my honoured father, the said Aurelius Apphus son of Aeion, from the said city, greetings. Apart from the . . . previously given to me by you from . . .'

Back: 'Agreement of Phoebammon . . .'

2-3 On this consulship, see *CLRE* 478-9; cf. 481. The evidence then available led to the statement that 'dissemination in Egypt was late', but **4695** now shows that this did not take place later than what was the norm in fifth-century Egypt. (As late as 24 July 472, Hermopolis dated by the consuls of 471; cf. P. Rain. Cent. 105.)

The belief in the late knowledge of this consulship in Egypt stems from a problem that **4695** helps to settle. Prior to the publication of **4695**, the earliest reference to this consulship was the Hermopolite BGU XII 2150, of 8 November 472. P. Lond. V 1793, also from Hermopolis, was dated by the postconsulate of Leo Aug. IV & Probinianus coss. 471, Choiak 5, indiction 10; the postconsular date corresponds to 1 December 472, but the indictional to 1 December 471. Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 30, raised the possibility that P. Lond. 1793 'was mistakenly dated p.c. rather than cos.; in a century when p.c. datings are the rule, the scribe might be pardoned for assuming that any new consuls were already out of office. This, however, is the reverse of the normal error, and we remain uncertain what has happened.' **4695** now turns the scales in favour of dating P. Lond. 1793 to 471.

6 τῷ τιμοστάτῳ (l. τιμω-) μου πατρί. This type of address is common in prescripts of private letters of the Roman period, but does not seem to have occurred in any other legal document.

10 Neither γραμματίων nor νομισματίων can be read. At the end of the line, a low trace to the right of γ may well be from a tall finishing stroke (e.g. c) at the end of the otherwise lost line below.

N. GONIS

#### 4696. TOP OF CONTRACT

2 1B.101/D(c)

19.3 × 7.3 cm

2 September 484

The interest of this papyrus is chronological and prosopographical. It offers the earliest Egyptian record of the consulate of the Ostrogoth king Theoderic, and attests an important Oxyrhynchite *curialis*, Flavius Ioannes, *vir spectabilis*, *comes sacri consistorii*; see 4 n. An unexpected piece of information is that Ioannes' father is Timagenes, another eminent Oxyrhynchite, active in the earlier part of the century. For the possibility that the *comites* Phoebammon and Samuel are this Ioannes' sons, and the implications of such an identification, see **4697** introd.

The papyrus breaks off before the nature of the document appears; for the possibility that it is a receipt for a part of an irrigation machine, see below 9 n.

χμγ

ὑπατεία Φλαουτίου Θεοδοωρίχου το[ῦ] λαμπροτάτου, Θὼθ ε, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) η,  
ἐν Ὁξυρύχων.

Φλαουτίῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμῃτι τοῦ θεοῦ κονιστωρίου

5 καὶ πολιτευομένῳ υἱῷ το[ῦ] τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Τιμαγένους

γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ[ᾷ] καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν  
[πὸ]λε[ι A] ὑργήλιος Ἄνινος [υἱὸ]ς Ἀπ[ακῦ]ρου μητρ[ὸ]ς Κασίας  
[ἀπὸ ἐποικί]ου Δ.[ ε8 τοῦ] ἀποῦ [νομοῦ ε5] . . .[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

χειρογραφή[ία

2 ὑπατεία ἰνδ 4 Ἰωαννη

'643. In the consulship of Flavius Theodorichus, *vir clarissimus*, Thoth 5, indiction 8, in Oxyrhynchus.

To Flavius Ioannes, *vir spectabilis*, *comes sacri consistorii* and *curialis*, son of Timagenes of splendid memory, landowner here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Aninus son of Apacyrus, mother Casia, from the hamlet of D— of the same nome . . .'

Back: 'Cheirograph . . .'

2 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 84, 96. This is the earliest Egyptian record of the consulship of Theoderic, on whom see *CLRE* 502-3; cf. 505, 507. The news of his proclamation must have reached Egypt some time in the summer of 484; as late as 4 May 484 Oxyrhynchus still dated by the postconsulate of Fl. Trocundes cos. 482 (VIII **1130**; on the date, cf. *CSBE* 120, Bl. VIII 241). It is interesting that this is the first time since 476 that a consul becomes known in Egypt within less than a year from his appointment.

4 Φλαουτίῳ Ἰωάννῃ. R. Rémondon, *Pap. Congr. XI* (1966) 144 with n. 4, identified what he called the archive 'du comte Jean, qui fut praeses d'Arcadie en 488', consisting of ten items. Thanks to **4697** (489) and, to a lesser extent, **4701** (505?), we are now able to tell that there were at least two high-ranking persons of this name at Oxyrhynchus in the later fifth century:

(1) Ioannes, *vir spectabilis*, dead by 489; cf. **4697** 3-4 and **4701** 7, which refer to Phoebammon and Samuel as υἱοῖς τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Ἰωάννου, indicating that in life their father was a *vir spectabilis*. He is likely to be the Ioannes of **4696**.

Given his title and rank, it is tempting, though not necessarily right, to identify this Ioannes with ' . . . Apio Theodosius Iohannes, *vir spectabilis*, *comes sacri consistorii* et *praeses provinciae Arcadiae*', attested in the undated XVI **1877**; the latter is presumably identical with the μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ἄρχων Ἰωάννης in XVI **1888** of 25.ix.488 (*PLRE* II 619, Ioannes 100). The fact that **1888** was issued by Φοιβάμμων κόμης, possibly the same as the one in **4697** and **4701**, is not conclusive for identifying the *praeses* with Phoebammon's father.

(2) Ioannes, *comes* (his *comitissa* is not specified), who occurs in P. Harr. I 91 of 29.xi.484 (cf. Bl. VIII 147), I **141** of 19.xii.503 (*PLRE* II 603, Ioannes 35), and LXVIII **4699** of 23.i.504. In theory, the *comes* of P. Harr. I 91 could be the same as the one in **4696**, but the type of the text, an order to supply meat and wheat, recalls **141** and **4699**. X **1335**, of 482, another order to supply meat, may refer to the same man, even if Ioannes is mentioned without a title. It is unclear whether the same person is to be recognised in X **1336** (V), an order to pay money.

Either of the two *comites* may occur in the letter I **155** (VI), not mentioned by Rémondon, addressed τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ πάντων μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτῳ) κόμ(ετι) καὶ ἐμῷ προστάτῃ Ἰωάννῃ.

The petition XVI **1943** (late V), submitted to Φλ. Ἰωάννῃ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἐκδικ[ῶ] of Oxyrhynchus (*PLRE* II 617, Ioannes 92), is not likely to refer to the Ioannes of **4696**. He could be the same as Ioannes 2, or someone else. The αἰδέσιμος πολιτευόμενος and γεουχῶν Fl. Ioannes, son of Martyrius, of XLIX **3512** (492) is probably a different person.

Apparently on the basis of **1888**, Rémondon included in the 'archive' the texts referring to Phoebammon and Samuel (see **4697** 3 n.). Now that we know that Phoebammon and Samuel were the sons of a Ioannes, the link appears closer than would otherwise have been thought. Ioannes' father Timagenes was dead by 444 (cf. below); it would be plausible to assume that the son was dead by 489.

τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμει τοῦ θείου κοιμιστωρίου. On the office, see most recently CPR XXIV pp. 59–61, 68–71. At that date, the conferral of this *comitiua* did not entail effective membership of the senate or the emperor's consistory, but still carried considerable dignity: **1877** shows that c.488 the *praeses* of Arcadia was a *comes sacri consistorii*; cf. also P. Mich. XVIII 794.2, assigned to the late fifth century (the redating to the early sixth century suggested in CPR XXIV p. 71 n. 14 is not strictly necessary, cf. ZPE 132 (2000) 180 n. 6, though palaeographically it is entirely possible).

5 καὶ πολιτευομένῳ. Ioannes was of curial stock: he may well have been a *curialis* who at some stage was given the *comitiua*. Compare the case of Fl. Strategius, *curialis*, *curator* of the *domus divina*, and later *comes sacri consistorii*; see LXIII **4389** 1 n.

τῷ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Τιμαγέονος. The filiation is probably also attested in LV **3805** 12 (566) δ(ιὰ) τῶν κληρ(ονόμων) Ἰωάννου Τιμαγέονος (cf. **4697** 4 n. para. 1). Timagenes is presumably the same as an important Oxyrhynchite active earlier in the century, who is attested as a *vir clarissimus* in PSI Congr. XVII 29.3 (432) τῇ μερίδι τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Τιμαγέονος, and was dead by 444, having reached the grade of *spectabilis*; cf. the formulation [μερί]δι τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Τιμαγέονος (L **3583** 3). The fact that he is referred to as τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης here and in P. Warr. 3.2–3 (V/VI, but before 504; see BL VII 93) may suggest that posthumous references to titles or functions should not always be taken at face value. He might be the same as the *riparius* in SB XXII 15471, ed. pr. J. O'Callaghan, CE 70 (1995) 189–92, cf. J. Bingen's postscript to ed. pr. (the hand suits a date early in the fifth century); if the identification holds, the twelfth and thirteenth indictions mentioned in that text should not be later than those corresponding to 428–30.

On the *meris* of the *oikos* of Timagenes, which survived into the sixth century, see J. Gascou, *T&MBz* 9 (1985) 41–4, and P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 62 (1986) 134–5 n. 1. 3. There is a great temptation to associate Phoebammon and Samuel's appearance as representatives of this *oikos* in SB XX 14964 with their ancestry.

8 ἐποικίου Δι[ο]νουσιᾶδος or Δι[ο]κοκουρίου, on which see Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* 42–3, would just fit in the break.

9 χειρογραφία. Fifth- and sixth-century Oxyrhynchite documents described thus in the docket are mostly receipts for replacement parts of irrigation machines, cf. XXXIV **2724** 26 (469), XVI **1899** 28 (476), LXVIII **4697** 17 (489), XVI **1982** 29 (497), **1984** 10 (523), **1900** 35 (528), XXXVI **2779** 29 (530), etc.

N. GONIS

#### 4697. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PARTS OF AN IRRIGATION MACHINE

105/193(a)

15.6 × 15 cm

27–31 December 489

The upper left part of a relatively early example of a well-attested type of document; cf. LXVII **4616** introd. It is addressed to the brothers Phoebammon and Samuel, two eminent Oxyrhynchites already known from several papyri, but whose filiation was previously unknown. This text and **4701** tell us that they were the sons of a certain Ioannes, dead by that time, who in life was a *vir spectabilis*. If this Ioannes is the same as the one in **4696**, which seems likely, Phoebammon and Samuel were the grandsons of Timagenes, who flourished in the earlier part of the century. In that case, three generations of an Oxyrhynchite landowning family of curial origin and senatorial rank would become known to us.

**4697** further complements our picture of the position of Phoebammon and Samuel

within the society of late antique Oxyrhynchus. We now see them as landowners in possession of artificially irrigated farms under *εναπόγραφοι γεωργοί*, like other ennobled landowners in Oxyrhynchus at that time. In the fashion of the great landowners, the two brothers are attested making charitable donations (VI **994**, XVI **1945**), and performing curial functions (SB XX 14964, possibly **4701**). The dossier of Phoebammon and Samuel displays most of the patterns observable in those of the landed aristocrats of late antique Oxyrhynchus, and probably reflects the realities in the lives of the provincial elites of the Empire.

Two further points of interest are the document's consular date, the earliest instance of the first consulship of Fl. Eusebius in a papyrus, and the occurrence of a new toponym, the *εποίκιον Κυδαλα*.

The writing is along the fibres. A kollesis runs vertically c.5 cm from the left-hand edge.

χμγ

[ύπατ]ε[ί]α Φλαουίου Εὐσε[βίου τοῦ λαμ]προτάτου, Τύβι [n, ἰνδικτίωνος γ.]  
 Φλαουίους Φοιβάμ[μωνα καὶ Σ]αμουηλίω τοῖς λαμ[προτάτοις υἱοῖς τοῦ τῆς]  
 περιβλέπτου μνήμης Ἰωάννου γεουχοῦσι ἐν[τ]αῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμ-  
 5 προτάτῃ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπολλ[ώ]ως υἱὸς 6–8 μητρὸς  
 Ἄννας καὶ Πέκκις υἱὸς Ἀπίδος μητρὸς Ε. [ 7–9 ἀμφότεροι ἐν-]  
 ἀπόγραφοι γεωργοὶ ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Κυδαλα κ[τῆ]ματος τῆς ὑμετέρας]  
 μεγαλοπρεπείας τοῦ Ὀξυρυχίτου νομοῦ. χ[ρ]είας καὶ νῦν γενομένης]  
 εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλ[ο]πρε[πείας γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν προσ-]  
 10 αγορευομένην Ταπχοχ ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς 10–12 κυλλῆς (?)  
 κυκλάδος μιᾶς καὶ μεγάλου ἐργάτου ἐνὸς καὶ . [ 18–20  
 προσελθόντες ἐξητήσαμεν τὰ εἰρημ[έ]να μηχανικὰ ὄργανα (?)  
 παρασχεθῆναι ἡμῖν. αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ τρ[ί]α μηχανικὰ ὄργανα (?)  
 καὶνὰ εὐάρεστα ἐπιτήδεια παρα[χ]- 13–15 ἡμῖν  
 15 εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων 9–11  
 ἐν τῇ ζήμερον ἡμέ[ρ]α ἡ[τ]ι[ς] ἐ[στὶν] Τύβι 10–12

Back, downwards along the fibres:

χειρογραφία Ἀπολλῶ καὶ Πε[κ]κίσιος

3 [α]μουηλιω corr. from σαμουηλιου 6 υἱος 9 ὑφ' ὑμων 14 1. ἐπιτήδεια

‘643. In the consulship of Flavius Eusebius, *vir clarissimus*, Tybi . . . indiction 13.

‘To Flavii Phoebammon and Samuel, *viri clarissimi*, sons of Ioannes of *spectabilis* memory, landowners here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites,

Aurelii Apollos son of . . . , mother Anna, and Pecysis son of Apis, mother . . . , both registered farmers from the hamlet of Sidala, a possession of your magnificence in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Since now too a need has arisen for one pot-wheel and one large waterwheel and . . . in the estate irrigator of your magnificence under our charge called Tapchoch, irrigating . . . , we came and asked that the said machine parts be supplied to us. And the said three machine parts, new, satisfactory, serviceable, were provided . . . to us as completion of the machine parts . . . this very day, which is the . . . of Tybi . . .'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Apollos and Pecysis . . .'

2 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 85, 98 (the possible date range is Tybi 1–5; it is less likely, though not inconceivable, that *ὑπατείας* is a mistake for *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν*, and the text dates from later in Tybi, that is, January 490). For the consulship, see *CLRE* 512–13; cf. 515. This is the earliest instance of Eusebius' first consulate in the papyri; postconsular datings to his first consulate are attested in P. Rain. Cent. 109 and **4698**. The news of his proclamation had not reached Egypt on 20 May 489; cf. P. Flor. III 325 (with BL VII 53), dated by the postconsulate of Longinus. It should be noted that τὸ β, which would date the papyrus to the second consulate of Eusebius (493), cannot be read.

3 Φοιβάμ[μων καὶ Κα]μουηλίω. See *PLRE* II 883 (Phoebammon 3), 975 (Samuel 2). Phoebammon and Samuel occur together in papyri ranging in date from 27–31 December 489 to 17 November 524: **LXVIII 4697** (489), **VI 994** (499), **LXVIII 4701** (505?), **SB XX 14964** (517), **XVI 1945** (517), **1946** (524), **2047** (no date). Phoebammon is invariably given precedence, indicative of seniority of age and, later, rank, cf. **4701**. Both are *clarissimi* in 489 (**4697**), but by 499 they carried different dignities: the prescript of **994**, Φοιβά[μμ]ων κόμ(ε)ς καὶ Καμουηλί περίβλ(ε)πτος, implies that Phoebammon, even if his *comitiva* is not specified, was of higher rank than Samuel, the latter being a *vir spectabilis*. Apparently by that time Phoebammon had been promoted to a higher senatorial grade than his brother. This is confirmed by **4701**, which shows that Phoebammon was a *vir gloriosissimus, comes devotissimorum domesticorum*, and Samuel a *vir spectabilis, comes sacri consistorii*. In later years, the status of the two brothers does not seem to have changed; cf. **1945** 1, which attests the same arrangement as **994**: Φοιβάμμων κόμ(ε)ς καὶ Καμουηλί περίβλ(ε)πτος. That both brothers are collectively called *comites* without further specification in **SB 14964.4** μεγαλοπρεπέστατων κομίτων, and **1946** 1 κόμ(ε)τες, need not imply that Samuel received promotion; he was a *comes* by 505(?), even if he is not given this title in **1945**.

It is uncertain whether Phoebammon the son of Ioannes and brother of Samuel is identical with the *comes* Phoebammon in **XVI 1888** of 488, even if the text, an order to supply provisions to soldiers, may refer to this same Ioannes. Also, it is unclear whether Fl. Phoebammon, addressed in the 'barely literate' letter **LVI 3868** (VI) as Φλαουῖου μεκαλιπρωπίας καὶ ἐνταξωτάτου κυρίου | Φοιβάμμων τῶν | γεχουσῶτων [sic], is the same person; there is at least one other *comes* of this name holding land in the Oxyrhynchite at this same period who cannot be our man, viz. the *spectabilis comes* Fl. Phoebammon alias Lamason in P. Wash. Univ. I 25 (530).

[υῖοίς]. Cf. **4701** 7.

4 Ἰωάννου. On this person see **4696** 4 n. The fact that, with the exception of **1888**, the sons always occur together suggests that Ioannes' estate was not divided between them, and continued to be administered as an economic unit after his death. This is the implication of **LV 3805** 12 (566) δ(ι)ὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Ἰωάννου Τιμαγέρονος (if of course the reference is to the father of Phoebammon and Samuel). Curiously, the next entry in this account refers to the κληρονόμοι τοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης μνήμης Φοιβάμμωνος (l. 13). If this is the son of Ioannes and brother of Samuel, it would follow that Phoebammon had an estate separate from that owned jointly with the other 'heirs of Ioannes son of Timagens'.

γεουχοῦσι ἐντ[αῦθα κτλ. The expression implies landownership in the area of Oxyrhynchus only; contrast the formulation γεουχοῦσι καὶ ἐνταῦθα, on which cf. **LXVII 4616** 3–4 n.

6–7 ἐν[απόγραφ]οι γεωργοί. See **LXVII 4615** 6 n. (para. 2), **4616** 7–8 n. with references. This is the second earliest text to attest ἐναπόγραφ]οι γεωργοί, after **XXXIV 2724** 6 (469); from the next two decades we have **XLIX 3512** 8 (492), **XVI 1982** 7 (497), and **LXVII 4615** 6 (505). The term has been restored in P. Mil. II 64.4–5 (440, cf.

**4687** 2 n.) [Ἀύρηλιος Παῦλος υἱὸς Ἀ]πφοῦτος ἀπὸ ἐποικία[υ] Κ[α]λπουνίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας γεωργός | [ἐναπόγραφ]ος]. The supplement has generally been accepted; cf. e.g. I. F. Fikhman in *Miscellanea Borgiana* ii = Pap. Flor. XIX (1990) 167 n. 38, or J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 130. But there are several difficulties. (i) The supplement would produce the earliest instance of an ἐναπόγραφ]ος γεωργός (it first occurs in a law of 458), cf. J.-M. Carrié, *Pap. Congr. XVII* iii (1984) 942 with n. 21. (ii) The restored word order is unparalleled; see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 250 n. 29. (iii) No other example of an ἐναπόγραφ]ος γεωργός of the *domus divina* has appeared in a papyrus. Thus it seems preferable to leave the lacuna of P. Mil. 64.5 without a supplement.

7 Ἰδαλα. This locality appears to be new. (It is possible that the putative κ of κ[τήματος] is part of the toponym.) It may be asked, however, whether this is the same as the ἐποικίον Καδάλου, on which see Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchie* 160.

8 μεγαλοπρεπείας. Cf. 9. In 3, Phoebammon and Samuel are styled λαμπρότατοι. The abstract was used with holders of all three senatorial grades; cf. R. Delmaire, *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 158–9.

χ[ρείας]. Possibly also χ[ί(αίρειν)]. χρείας (but χ[αίρειν]. χρείας would be too long).

9 εἰς τὴν ὕψ' ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλ[ο]πρεπείας γεουχικὴν μηχανήν. For the formula cf. **XVI 1982** 9–10, on which the restorations are based; but the line as restored seems rather long. γεουχικὴν, which occurs in all other documents of this kind (save for those addressed to functionaries of the *domus divina*), is not strictly necessary (the possessors of the μηχανή are sufficiently indicated by τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλ[ο]πρεπείας), but without it the line would be rather short.

9–10 προσ[αγορευομένην]. The usual expression is καλουμένην; the only parallels I have found come from much earlier texts; cf. P. Stras. II 81.2.23 (115 BC) and P. Köln I 50.2.24 (99 BC) χάμα προσαγορευόμενον Τοῦμα, BGU IV 1120.7 (5 BC) ἐν τῷ προσαγορευόμενῳ Φοινικῶνι, I 34 = M. Chr. 188.1.13 (127) [τῶν πρ]οσαγορευομένων [συνοκ]ληζέμεν; the participle also in **SB VI 9464.6** (VII), but the context is fragmentary.

10 Ταπχοχ. This μηχανή is new.

ἐ[ἰς ἀμπελον καὶ εἰς ἀρόσιον γῆν, cf. c.g. P. Mil. 64.6, would fit the space, but there must be other possibilities too.

10–11 κυλλῆς (?) κυκλάδος. κυλλῆς is likely but not inevitable (not in **XVI 1899** 10–11). On this term, of uncertain meaning, see J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (1984) 133–4, 152–3; D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (1993) 112–13.

11 μεγάλου ἐργάτου. See Bonneau, op. cit. 111; for examples see *Tyche* 12 (1997) 253 (Korr. *Tyche* 241); add **SB XX 15097.6**.

It is not clear what to restore in the break. I have thought of μ[ικροῦ ἐργάτου ἐνός, cf. P. Lond. III 776.9 (p. 258)], but I would expect the foot of the leg of μ to be visible.

12 προσελθόντες ἐξηγήσαμεν. Cf. P. Mil. 64.6–7 προσελθόν ἐ[π]ί | [τῆς πόλεως ἡξί]ωσα. All other texts of this type have a version of ἀνελθόν/-όντες ἐπὶ τῆς/-ῆν πόλεως/-ω ἡξίωσα/-μεν.

14 παρασχ[ε]. I do not see how to restore this line convincingly. It is possible that we have a genitive absolute, cf. P. Mil. 64.7–8 κ[αὶ] τῆς εἰς ἀρετῆς εὐθέως | [--- τὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάτην καινὸν] ἐπιτήδιον . . . παρασχομένης, in which case we may consider restoring τὰ τρ[ί]α ὄργανα τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρεπείας] . . . παρασχομένης ἡμῶν, or τὰ τρ[ί]α μηχανικὰ ὄργανα] . . . παρασχομένης ἡμῶν τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρεπείας. But μεγαλοπρεπείας, even abbreviated, is implausibly long; either a different abstract was used, or the postulated constructions are wrong. I have also considered reading τὰ τρ[ί]α μηχανικὰ ὄργανα] . . . παρασχ[εθέντα ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν abstract, but in this case too space would be a problem.

15 μηχανικ[ῶν ὀργάνων]. Though the text could well run μηχανικ[ῶν ὀργάνων] | ἐν τῇ εἰρημῶν κτλ., some ten further letters must have come after ὀργάνων in the lacuna. ὑπεδεξάμεθα would fit, but its presumed place in the construction cannot be paralleled from elsewhere. ἄνω ὑποδεξάμενοι, which could be paralleled by **XVI 1899** 16, **1982** 17, or **XXXIV 2724** 15, would be too long for the space.

17 Ἀπολλώ. For this genitive of Ἀπολλώς, common in later periods, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 61.

## 4698. TOP OF CONTRACT

106/90(b)

13 × 7.8 cm

3 October 490

This fragment, the top of a contract of some sort, is of interest for its post-consular dating clause: it shows that some nine months after the proclamation of Flavius Longinus, the consul of 490, the name of the consul of the previous year, Flavius Eusebius, was still in use at Oxyrhynchus.

[ΧΜ]γ

† μετὰ τῆ[ν ὑπατείαν Φ]λαουῖου

Εὐσεβ[έ]ου τοῦ λαμπρ[ο(τάτου)], Φαῶφι ζ,

ιδ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

5 Αὐρηλία Ἄννα θυγάτηρ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆ[ς]

Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίω

[.]...[.]...η υἱῶ [ c.5 ]ου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ὁμολ[ογία

2 φλαουῖου

4 υδικς

5 ἰωσήφ

‘643. After the consulship of Flavius Eusebius, *vir clarissimus*, Phaophi 6, indiction 14.

‘Aurelia Anna, daughter of Joseph, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius . . . son of . . . from the same (city) . . .’

Back: ‘Agreement . . .’

2–4 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 85, 96. This is the latest postconsular dating to Fl. Eusebius cos. 489 (the indiction figure shows that the reference is to his first consulate), on whom see **4697** 2 n. The earliest Egyptian dating by Fl. Longinus II cos. 490 is 16 December 490 (P. Rain. Cent. 110).

7 τῆς αὐτῆ[ς]. πόλεως would have followed in l. 8, now lost.

N. GONIS

## 4699. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

68 B.B.21/H(1–2)a

20 × 4 cm

23 January 504

An order from a *comes* called Ioannes to Phoebammon, wine-steward, to supply wine to a servant or slave; cf. I **141** = SPP VIII 1155 (19.xii.503), and PSI VIII 957 (29.i.504, cf. BL XI 248).

The writing is across the fibres of the recto of the original roll; a kollesis runs horizontally 1.1–1.8 cm from the upper edge. The back is blank.

† Ἰωάννης κόμης

Φοιβάμμωνι οἰνοχειρ(ιστῆ).

παράσχ(ου) Θεοδώρω παιδ(ί) τοῦ κυρίου(ν) Ἀθανασίου(ν) λόγ(ω) διατροφ(ών) τῶν ἀπὸ μην(ός) Τ[ύβι --- οἴνου (ἔτους) ρπ ρμθ, Τύβι κζ, [ι]νδ(ικτίωνος) ιβμ διπλοῦν ἔν, γί(νεται) οἴ(νου) δι(πλοῦν) α μό(νον).

(3 cont., m. 2) † cεσημε(λωμαι) οἴνου δι[πλοῦν ἔν, γί(νεται) οἴ(νου) δι(πλοῦν) α. μηνι Τύβι κζ, ιβ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). †

2 παρασχς παιδς κυριος αθανασιος λογς διατροφς μηνς 3,4 ἰνΔ 3 L γε οως Δ μω  
(m. 2) cεσημε

‘Ioannes, *comes*, to Phoebammon, wine-steward. Deliver to Theodorus, servant of the lord Athanasius, on account of victuals from the month of Tybi . . . one double jar of wine, total 1 double jar of wine only. Year 180/149, Tybi 27, indiction 12.’ (2nd hand) ‘I have countersigned one double jar of wine, total 1 double-jar of wine, in the month of Tybi 27, of the 12th indiction.’

1 Ἰωάννης κόμης. On this person, see **4696** 4 n. para. 4. By comparison with **4699** and I **141**, it is probable that Ἰωάννης κόμης is to be restored in the break to the left of l. 1 of PSI VIII 957.

Φοιβάμμωνι οἰνοχειρ(ιστῆ). Cf. **141** 1, PSI 957.1.

2 παιδ(ί) οἰ παιδ(αρίω). On the term, see **4683** 2 n.

λόγ(ω) διατροφ(ών). Cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67006v.36 (522?). διατροφ(ῆς) is another possibility. An equivalent expression is ὑπὲρ τροφῆς, which recurs in the archive of the *ἐλαιουργός* Sambas; see F. Mitthof, A. Papathomas, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 61–2.

τῶν ἀπὸ μην(ός) Τ[ύβι]. What is lost in the break is the reference to the period for which the victuals were required. After the (putative) month name, one expects εἰς followed by another chronological indication; cf. XVI **1920** 13 (after 11.ii.563, cf. BL X 145), IV **3804** 231, 256 (566), VII **1043** 2 (578), XVIII **2196** r 11 (587?), etc.

3 The layout of the line is curious, but probably is only due to shortage of writing space. After the date, we have what must be the continuation of the text from line 2. (The placement of the year symbol in the papyrus rules out the possibility that the chronological indications in l. 4 belong with the body of the text.)

For the conversion of the date see *CSBE* 85, 98.

3–4 The same countersignature and in the same hand also in **141** 6 and PSI 957.6–7; see T. M. Hickey, *ZPE* 123 (1998) 161 (= BL XI 143, 249). Those two texts have εἰς Φοιβάμμ(ωνα) οἰνοχειρ(ιστῆν) after the reference to the quantity of wine and before the date; but spacing does not seem to allow restoring this expression here. The countersignature in P. Harr. I 91.3 (484), which may stem from the same Ioannes, looks different, but one has to bear in mind that twenty years separate the two texts.

N. GONIS

## 4700. TOP OF CONTRACT

4 1B.75/E(1–2)a

12.3 × 7.6 cm

18 November 504

The main interest of this document, shown by the docket to be a contract, lies in the attestation of a military unit not otherwise recorded as a *numerus*, the ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναϊοστάτων καὶ καθωσιωμένων Φαρανιτῶν; see further 3–5 n.

⚭ ὑπατία Φλαουίου Κεθήγου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου),  
 Ἀθύρ κβ, ἰνδικ(τίωνος) γ.  
 Φλαουίω Cερήνω στρατιώτης ἀριθ(μοῦ)  
 τῶν γεννεωτάτων καὶ καθοσιωμέ-  
 5 νων Φαρανιτῶν υἱῶ Ἀντιόχου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρή-  
 λιος Φιλέας υἱὸς Γερμανοῦ μητρὸς Ἡρα-  
 ε[ί]δ[ο]ς c.4 ] . . . [ c.8 ] . [ c.4 ] .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

⚭ γραμ(μάτιον) χ. . [

1 ὑπατία, 1. ὑπατεία	φλαουίου	ἐνδοξ	2 ἰνδικ	3 φλαουίω	1. στρατιώτη	ἀριθ(
4 1. γεννησιτάτων	4-5 1. καθοσιωμένων	5 νων: second v ex. corr.	υἱῶ	7 υἱός		
7-8 1. Ἡραΐδος	9 γραμ					

‘In the consulship of Flavius Cethegus, *vir gloriosissimus*, Hathyr 22, indiction 13.

‘To Flavius Serenus, soldier of the *numerus* of the *fortissimi* and *devotissimi* Pharanites, son of Antiochus, from the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Phileas, son of Germanus, mother Herais . . .’

Back: ‘Contract . . .’

1 For the consulship, see *CLRE* 542-3; cf. 544-5.

ἐνδοξ(οτάτου). This is the epithet of Fl. Cethegus in all texts from Oxyrhynchus dated by his consulate (besides this one, in XVI 1883 and 1966); in documents from other parts of Egypt he is invariably called λαμπρότατος. Cf. 4701 n.

1-2 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 85, 97.

3-5 ἀριθ(μοῦ) . . . Φαρανιτῶν. Φαρανίται have occurred in P. Cair. Masp. I 67054.2, 4 (VI), P. Flor. III 297.192, 219, 303 (540/1?), P. Lond. V 1735.24 (VI), SB XIV 11854.7, 8 (V/VI). The term was rightly interpreted to be a colloquial reference to the soldiers of a military unit associated with Pharan, a locality in the Sinai; see J. Gascou, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 169-75, and A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *BJRL* 61 (1978-79) 312. There is no mention of this *numerus* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which suggests that its formation postdates the composition of the *Notitia*, placed in 401 by C. Zuckerman, *AnTard* 6 (1998) 144-7.

It should be noted that no Φαρανίται occur in P. Wash. Univ. II 105.2. The view entertained by the editor in the commentary (p. 202) that the mysterious παρ( ) φαρρ( ) may conceal a reference to this unit should be abandoned; the plate (XXVII b) allows reading παιδαρρ, i. e. παιδαρ(οις).

The *numeri* initially were ethnic auxiliary forces; see D. Hoffmann, *Das spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* i (1969) 171-2, ii (1970) 61 n. 402, P. Southern, *Britannia* 20 (1989) 83-4; cf. M. P. Speidel, *ANRW* II.3 202-31 = id., *Roman Army Studies* i (1984) 117-48. But at this time the term referred to all kinds of military units; cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii (1964) 655. The fact that Serenus was a native of Oxyrhynchus is symptomatic of the character of the *militia* of the period.

6 λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. Early sixth-century texts increasingly refer to Oxyrhynchus as λαμπρά only, whereas previously the city was called almost uniformly λαμπρά καὶ λαμπροτάτη; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 286, 290.

9 γραμ(μάτιον) χ. . [ After χ, α or ο, followed by what might be read as ρ. This can hardly be the start of a personal name, since it cannot be reconciled with either of the contracting parties (unless a third party was mentioned in the part now lost). SB XVIII 13768.10-11 (IV) γραμμάτιον χάρ(ιτος) is not paralleled otherwise, and this does not encourage me to read χάρ(ιτος) here.

N. GONIS

#### 4701. TOP OF DOCUMENT

97/221(c)

11.2 × 6.8 cm

505?

Assuming that the restorations proposed are correct, this text is of interest for attesting the full titulature of the brothers Phoebammon and Samuel in the early sixth century: the former was a *comes domesticorum*, the latter a *comes sacri consistorii*.

The nature of the document is unclear; that it addresses the two brothers as *curiales* may offer an indication that it related to their curial duties. There is a possibility that the two brothers were further addressed as *riparii*, see 7 n., in which case this would be a petition.

A scrap has not been placed. The back is blank so far as it is preserved. A kollesis runs vertically 0.6 cm from the right-hand edge.

[† ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Cαβι]γμανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώ[ρου] τῶν λαμπροτάτων,  
 [month day indiction] ἐν Ὀξυρύγχ(ων).

[Φλαουίους Φοι]βάμ[μω]νι τῶ μεγαλοπρε[πε]στάτῳ καὶ ἐνδο-  
 [ξοτάτῳ κόμετι τῶ]ν καθοσιωμένων δομεστικῶν καὶ

5 [Cαμουηλίῳ τῶ μ]εγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπ[τ]ῳ κόμετι  
 [τοῦ θείου κονιστ]αρίου ἀμφοτέρους αἰδес[ί]μοις πολιτευομένοι[ς]  
 [ c.12 υι]οῖς το[ῦ] τῆς περιβλέπτου [μν]ήμης Ἰωάννου

]τα. [

] . . . ιοσπ[

10 ] c ὑμῶν [

2 οξυρυγχ] 4 1. καθοσιωμένων 7 Ἰωάννου 10 ὕμων

‘In the consulship of Flavii Sabinianus and Theodorus, *virii clarissimi*, . . . in Oxyrhynchus.

‘To Flavii Phoebammon, *magnificentissimus et gloriosissimus comes devotissimorum domesticorum*, and Samuel, *magnificentissimus et spectabilis comes sacri consistorii*, both respected *curiales* . . . sons of Ioannes of *spectabilis* memory . . .’





## 4703. DEED OF SURETY

97/104(a)

13.6 × 8.9 cm

22 May 622  
Plate XVI

The publication of LVIII 3959 (620) and 3960 (621) has shown that the Oxyrhynchite estate of Flavius Apion III continued to function as an economic unit under the Persians and after his death (see 3959 introd.). 4703 and very probably 4704 (626) further testify to the survival of the estate well into the period of the Persian occupation of Egypt (619–29). 4703 is also the latest papyrus from Oxyrhynchus to contain an explicit reference to the household of Apion III (though cf. LVIII 3962).

On Egypt under Persian rule, see most recently R. Altheim-Stiehl, *Tyche* 6 (1991) 3–16, and cad. in O. Brehm, S. Klie (eds.), *ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ANHP: Festschrift für Max Wegner* (1992) 5–8.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος  
ἡμῶν. μηνὶ Παχῶν[ν] κζ, ἰνδ[ικτίωνος] ι.  
τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ ποτὲ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ  
5 ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μηνίμῃ τῷ διακειμένῳ  
καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ὁξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλιν(ιν) Αὐρήλιος Ἀνούπ  
[υἱὸς τοῦ μα]κ[αρί]ου Παύλου ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† ἐγγ(ύη) Ἀν[οῦπ

2 ἰησον 3 ἰνδ ἰ 5 διακειμέν; κ corr. from μ 6 οξ πολ 7 ὑπογραφων 8 ἐγγ?

‘In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour. In the month of Pachon 27, indiction 10.

‘To the glorious household sometime belonging to Apion in well-famed memory, situated also at the city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Anup son of the blessed Paul signing below . . .’

Back: ‘Guarantee of Anup . . .’

1–3 On the invocation of Christ (type 1), see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 121.

3 That this indiction 10 corresponds to 621/2 is shown by the absence of a regnal dating clause, as well as by comparison with LVIII 3960 of 621, likewise addressed ‘to the glorious household sometime belonging to Apion in well-famed memory’.

4–6 The same formulation in 3960 1–2; cf. also 3959 4–5.

4 τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ. It is conceivable that Apion’s household is referred to in the Oxyrhynchite P. Mich. XV

743.5–6 νοταρ(ίω) | τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου; the text, headed by the Christ invocation and lacking a regnal formula, is dated Choiak 1 [ ], ind. 11, which may correspond to 6–15 December 622.

5–6 τῷ διακειμένῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ὁξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλιν(ιν). This recalls the expression γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ . . . Ὁξ. πόλει, found in documents addressed to members of the Apion family from 523 (XVI 1984) to 619 (P. Iand. III 49).

N. GONIS

## 4704. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT TO ΠΟΤΑΜΙΤΑΙ

6 I.B.15/B(f)

32 × 7.1 cm

29 August–27 September 626  
Plate VIII

This receipt, the latest of the very few Oxyrhynchite texts from the time of Persian rule, may offer additional evidence for the survival of the household of Apion III under the Persians. The ἐποίκιον Παρθενιάδος, whose προνοητής figures in the receipt, is known to have been among the Apion holdings as late as 621 (LVIII 3960 34); earlier texts also place it under a προνοητής (see further 2 n. para. 2). The structure of a large estate employing local managers was evidently in place in 626; it is a natural assumption that the estate was what used to be the εἰδοξος οἶκος of the Apions.

The receipt certifies a payment by the προνοητής to two ποταμίται, workers involved in the maintenance of the irrigation system, on account of their monthly salaries for work at some new plantings, probably vineyards. The salaries of these workers have lately been discussed by F. Morelli in *Pap. Congr. XXI* ii (1997) 727–37. It is of some interest that this is the first text recording a salary payment to ποταμίται made entirely in kind (wheat).

The hand is of the type of P. Amh. II 157 (612), illustrated in G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* (1987) no. 43a, discussed *ibid.*, p. 94. This style of writing, common in orders to pay and receipts from late sixth- and early seventh-century Oxyrhynchus, is the precursor of the documentary minuscule used by official chanceries in early Islamic Egypt. The abbreviations employed here also look forward to the abbreviation system current in the later period (briefly described by H. I. Bell, *P. Lond.* IV pp. xlv–v).

The writing runs across the fibres; no sheet-join is visible. The left and right edges are virtually intact, so that the width of the piece (32 cm) should represent the original height of the roll from which the strip was cut.

1 †  
2 † ἐδόθ(ησαν) δι(ὰ) Σεργίου προ(νοητοῦ) Παρθενιάδος † Ἰακώβ( και) Φοιβά(μμωνι)  
ποταμί(ταις) ἐργαζομ(ένους) εἰς(ε) τ(ὰ) νεόφυτα  
3 χωρ(ία) Ἐξω τῆς Πύλης λόγῳ μισθ(οῦ) ἐπὶ μην(ὸς) Θῶθ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἰε ἀπὸ παλαι(οῦ)  
γενήμ(ατος) κύτου καγκ(έλλω) ἀρτ(άβαι) δεκαέξ,  
4 γί(νονται) κύτου καγκ(έλλω) (ἀρτάβαι) ἰς μ(όνας).  
5 (ἔτους) τγ( και) κοβ μην(ὸς) Θῶθ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἰε.

Back, along the fibres:

† πι(ττάκιον) τῶν ποταμιτ(ῶν) (vac.) ιε ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) κί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ις.

2 εδδΔ προ ς φοιβῆ ποταμίμῃ εργαζομίμῃ εἰ 3 χωρ μιῒ μῖ ωΔ παλαι γεννημς καγ\* αβ  
4 Ϝ ε κατ μκ 5 Ϝ ς μη ε 6 πε ποταμιτ' ωΔ ε τ

‘There was given through Scrgius, *pronoetes* of Partheniados, to Iacob and Phoebammon, *potamitae*, working at the new plantations of ‘Outside the Gate’, on account of (their) salary for the month of Thoth of the 15th indiction, from old produce sixteen artabas of wheat by the cancellus (measure), total: 16 artabas of wheat by the cancellus (measure) only.

‘Year 303 and 272, month Thoth, indiction 15.’

Back: ‘Voucher of the *potamitae*, indiction 15, 16 artabas of wheat.’

2 *Cerylion* and *Partheniados* are written in a different (brownish as opposed to black ink) by the same hand; evidently they are later additions. Dr Coles wonders whether the cross after *Partheniados* serves like the Xs in orders to arrest, to preclude any additions.

*προνοητοῦ*). On the functions of *προνοηταί*, see LV 3804 introd.; R. Mazza, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 161 ff.

*Partheniados*. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* (1981) 136; LV 3805 102 (566) and LVIII 3960 34 (621) are additional attestations of this hamlet. Most of the references stem from documents related to the Apion estate; *προνοηταί* occur in XVI 1916 5, 20, 31 (VI), 2031 16 (VI/VII).

*ποταμί(ταις)*. See Morelli, loc. cit. (with references to earlier literature).

2–3 εἰ(ς) τ(ῶ) νεόφυτα χωρ(ία). The expression also occurs in XVI 1912 152 and XIX 2244 82, 85, 87. *νεόφυτον* usually refers to a newly planted vineyard, see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1925) 245, although the word may be used for other plantings too; cf. P. Köln V p. 167. Insofar as in this period the term *χωρίον* applies predominantly to vineyards, see R. S. Bagnall, *CE* 74 (1999) 329–33, it seems virtually certain that these *νεόφυτα χωρ(ία)* were newly planted vineyards.

3 Ἐξω τῆς Πύλης. This was a *προάστειον*, a palatial residence of the Apions just outside one of the city gates of Oxyrhynchus; see LI 3640 2 n. para. 2., LV 3804 268–9 n. The area had vineyards, orchards, and gardens, all of which would require plenty of irrigation, and naturally canal workers.

κί(του) καγε(έλλω) ἀρτ(άβαι) δεκαξέξ. At that date 1 solidus could buy 8–12 artabas of wheat, so that the salary of each of these *ποταμίται* would be equivalent to  $\frac{2}{3}$ –1 sol. per month, which is well paralleled; see Morelli, loc. cit. 733–6.

παλαι(οῦ) γενήμ(ατος). The collocation only in P. Amh. II 79.13–14 (c.186) (*παλαιῶν γενημ[άτων]*), and VII 1071 3 (V). The reference, I suppose, is to wheat that comes from the harvest of previous years.

5 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE* 93, 96.

N. GONIS

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or its *Revised Supplement*. The article, *καί* (in the documentary section only) and quotations and lemmata from known authors are not indexed (see Index of Citations of Known Authors).

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## IV. RULERS

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

(year 20 and 19: no titlature **4670** r 2)

## THEODOSIUS II AND VALENTINIAN

οἱ τὰ πάντα νικῶντες δεσπότηι ἡμῶν Φλάουῖοι Θεοδοσίος  
 Οὐαλεντινιανὸς οἱ αἰῶνιοι Αὔγουστοι **4688** 7-9

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 419 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τὸ ιβ καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ η τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων **4681** 1-2  
 421 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου τὸ θ καὶ Φλαυίου Κωνσταντίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τὸ γ **4682** 1-3  
 431 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιγ καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ γ τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων **4684** 1-2  
 440 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Ἀνατολίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4686** 1  
 441 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου τὸ ε καὶ Φλαυίου Ἀνατολίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4687** 1-2  
 442 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Κύρου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4688** 2 **4689** 2 **4690** 1  
 453 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Σπορακίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ δηλωθρομένου **4691** 1-2 **4692** 1-2  
 466 ὑπατείας (sic) Φλαυίων Βασιλίκου καὶ Ἑρμενερχ τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4693** 1  
 466 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου τὸ γ καὶ τοῦ δηλωθρομένου **4694** 1-2  
 472 ὑπατεία Φλαυίου Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ δηλωθρομένου **4695** 2-3  
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 489 ὑπατεία Φλαυίου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4697** 2  
 490 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4698** 2-3  
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 505 ὑπατείας Φλαυίων Καβιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4701** 1  
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## VI. INDICATIONS AND ERAS

## (a) INDICATIONS

3rd indiction	<b>4681</b> 10-11 (= 419/20)	11th indiction	<b>4688</b> 3 (= 442/3) <b>4689</b> 9-10 (= 442/3)
4th indiction	<b>4693</b> 2, 10 (= 465/6)		<b>4695</b> 3 (= 472/3)
5th indiction	<b>4694</b> 2, 8 (= 466/7)	12th indiction	<b>4699</b> 3, 4 (= 503/4)
6th indiction	[ <b>4682</b> 5] (= 422/3)	13th indiction	<b>4697</b> 2 (= 489/90) <b>4700</b> 2 (= 504/5)
7th indiction	<b>4692</b> 7 (= 453/4)		<b>4702</b> 2 (= 519/20)
8th indiction	<b>4677</b> 9 (= 409/10) <b>4696</b> 2 (= 484/5)	14th indiction	<b>4698</b> 4 (= 490/1)
9th indiction	<b>4686</b> 5-6 (= 440/1)	15th indiction	<b>4704</b> 3, 5 (= 626/7)
10th indiction	<b>4687</b> 7 (= 441/2) <b>4703</b> 10 (= 621/2)		

## (b) ERAS

74/43 (?) = 397/8	<b>4675</b> 4	119/88 = 442/3	<b>4689</b> 9 [ <b>4690</b> 8]
81/50 = 404/5	<b>4676</b> 3	130/99 = 453/4	<b>4692</b> 7
[86/55 = 409/10]	<b>4679</b> 9	142/111 = 465/6	<b>4693</b> 9
95/64 = 418/9	<b>4680</b> 3 <b>4681</b> 10	143/112 = 466/7	<b>4694</b> 8
98/67 = 421/2	[ <b>4682</b> 8]	180/149 = 503/4	<b>4699</b> 3
103/72 = 426/7	<b>4683</b> 4	303/272 = 626/7	<b>4704</b> 5
117/86 = 440/1	<b>4686</b> 6 [ <b>4687</b> 7]		

## VII. MONTHS

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 Παχών **4703** 3  
 Παῦνι **4687** 2  
 Μεσορή **4681** 3, 10 **4692** 2

## VIII. DATES

- 303/4 **4670** 1 2  
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 26 September 408 **4677** 1-2  
 18 October 409 **4678** 1-2  
 21 December 418 **4679** 1-3  
 11 February 419 **4680** 3  
 10 (?) August 419 **4681** 1-2  
 9 (?) October 421 **4682** 1-3  
 1 December 426 **4683** 4  
 431 **4684** 1-2  
 5 September 440 **4686** 1  
 26 May 441 **4687** 1-2  
 1 May-24 June 442? **4688** 2-3  
 29 August 442 **4689** 2-3  
 10 September 442 **4690** 1  
 16 April 453 **4691** 1-2  
 31 July 453 **4692** 1-2  
 27 (?) February 466 **4693** 1-2  
 14 December 466 **4694** 1-2  
 31 August 472 **4695** 2-3  
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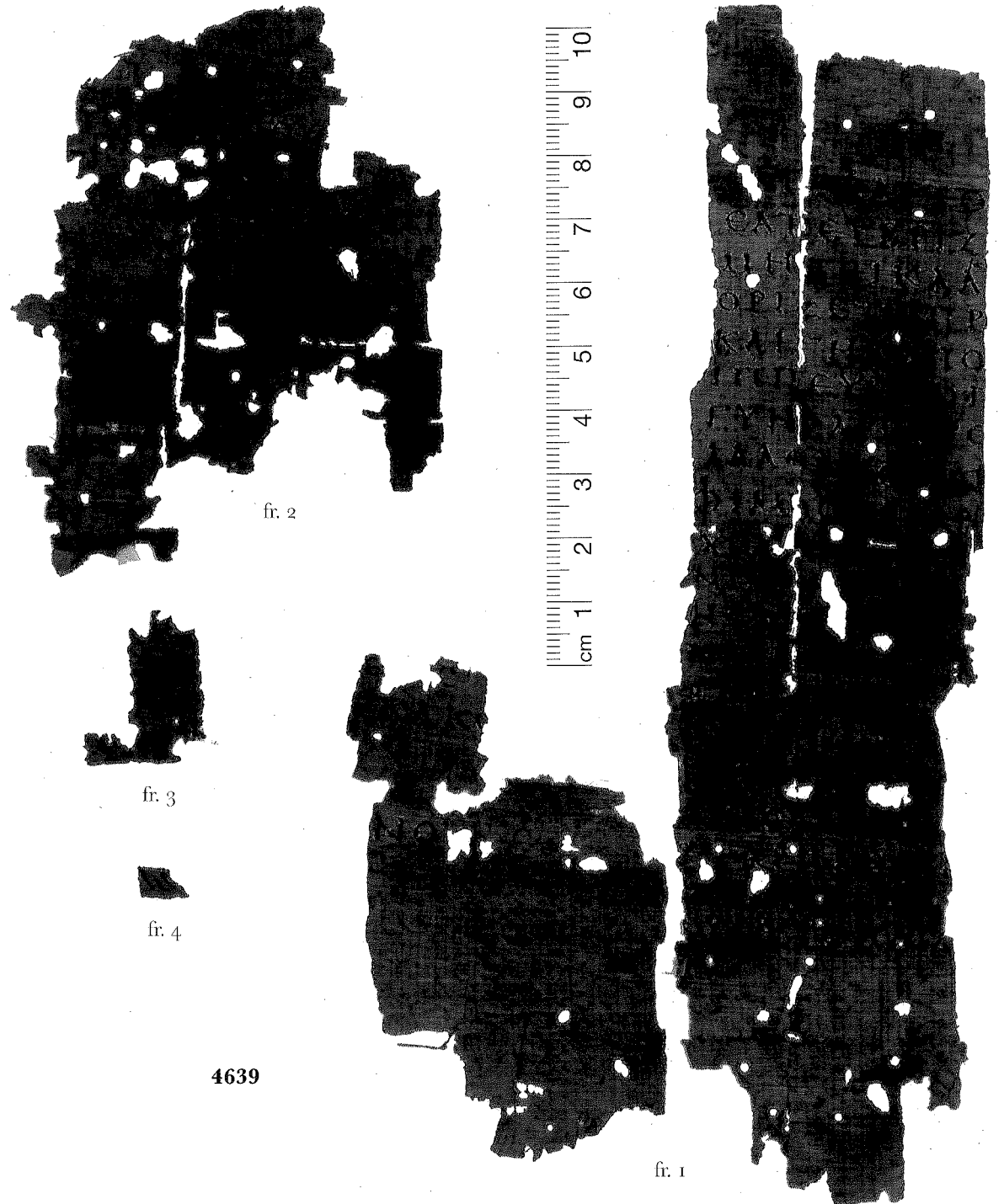
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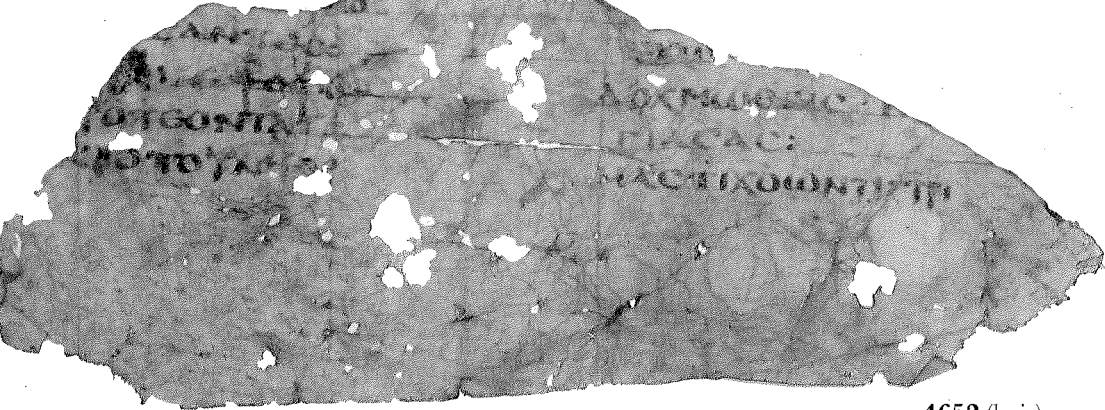
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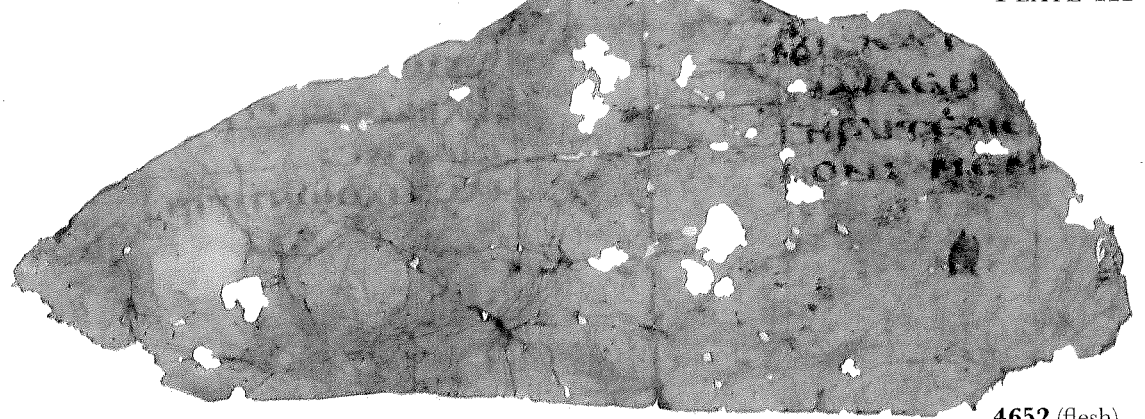
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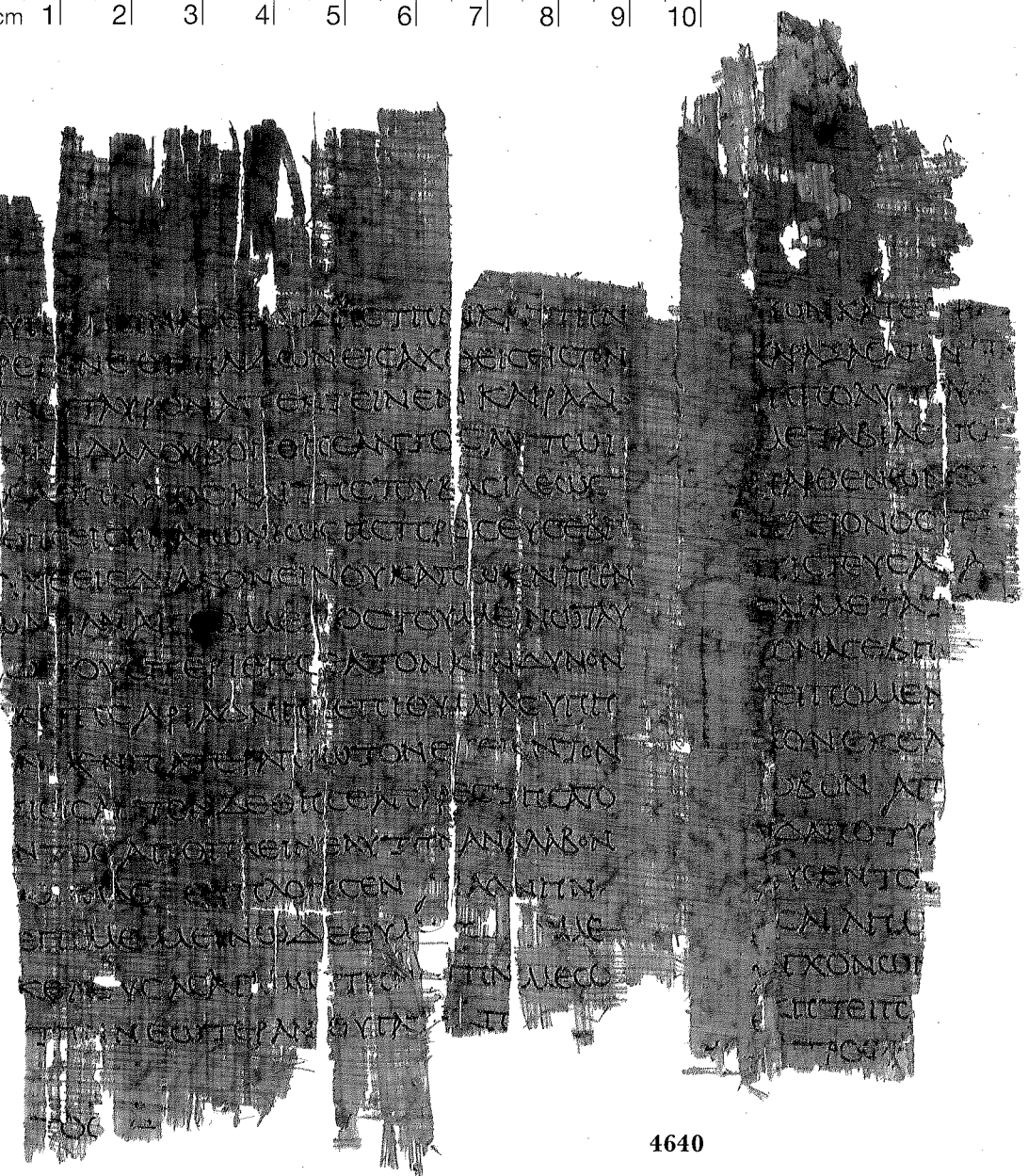
4639



4652 (hair)



4652 (flesh)



4640

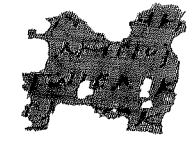


4641

4643

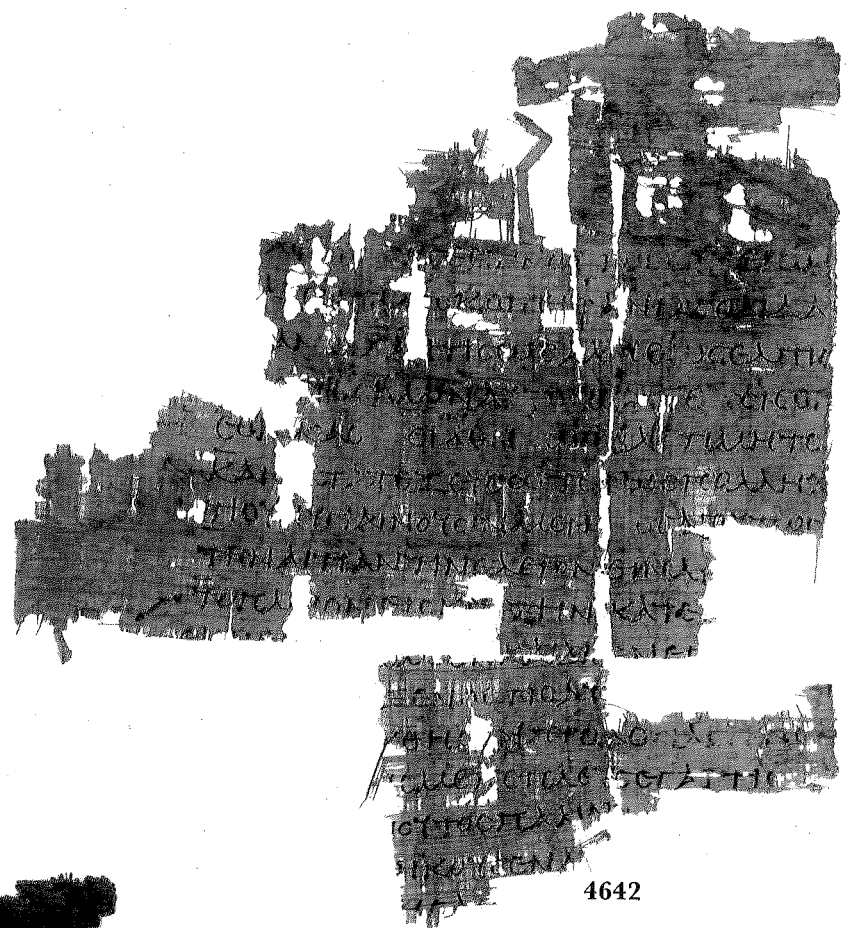


fr. 1

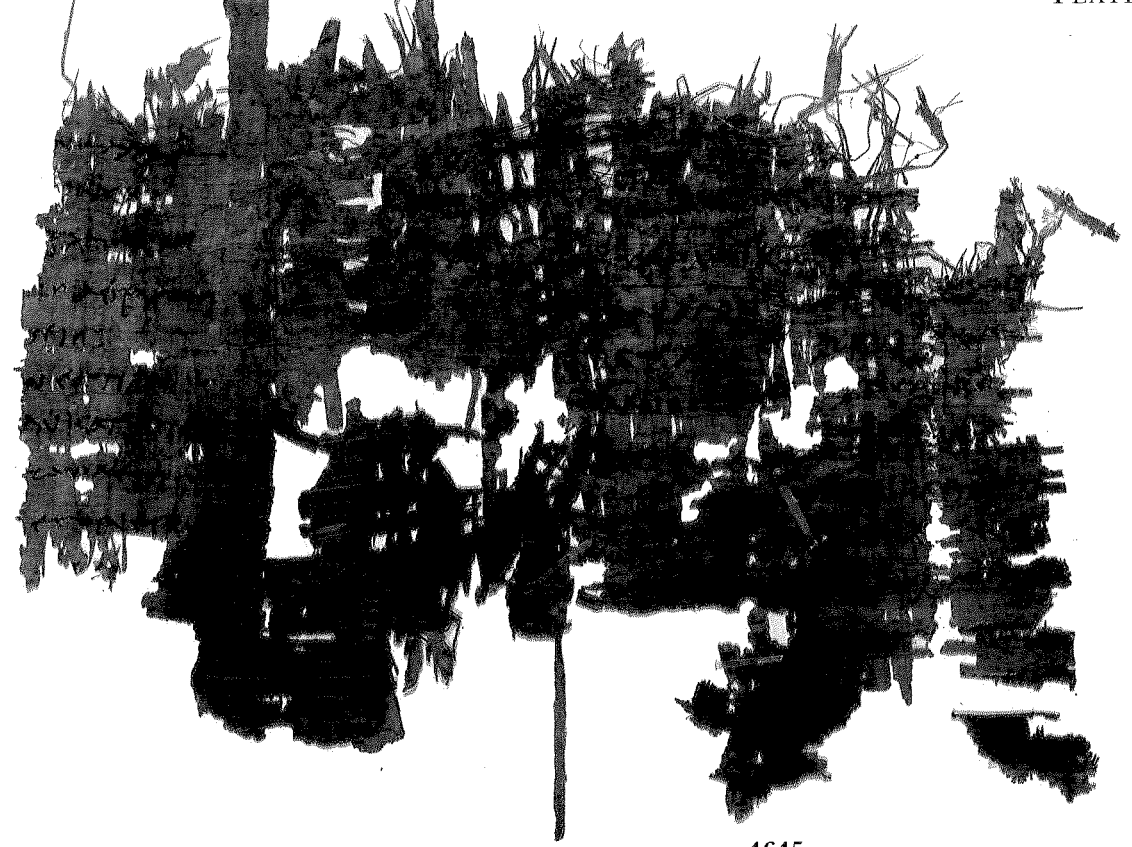


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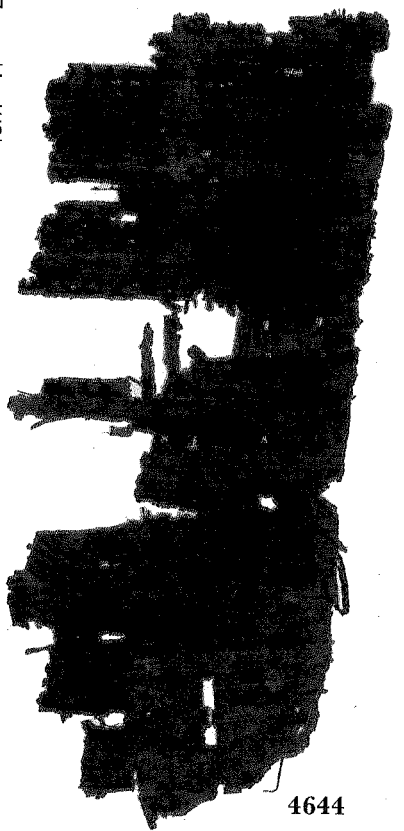
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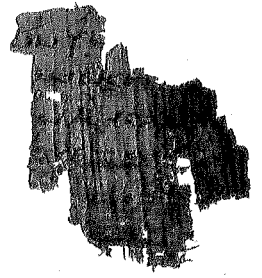
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4645

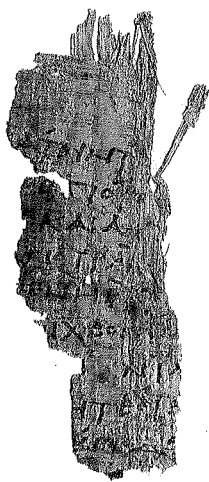


4644

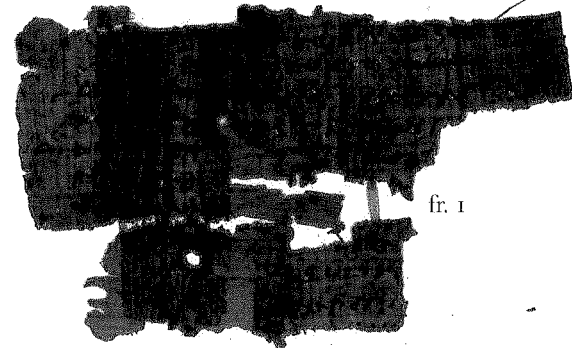


fr. 1

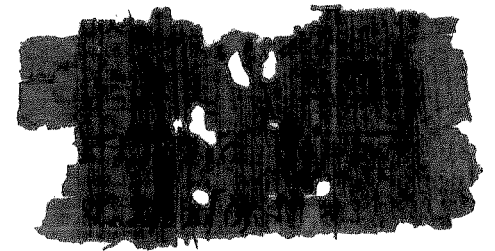
4653



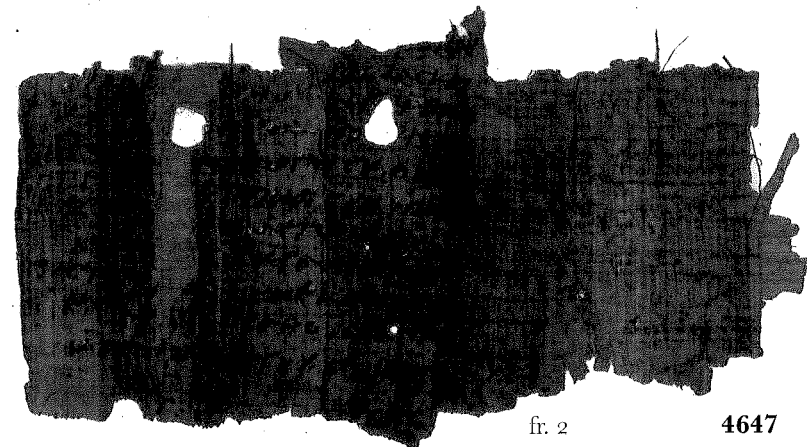
fr. 2



fr. 1

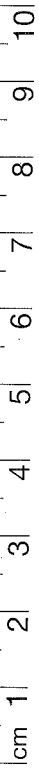


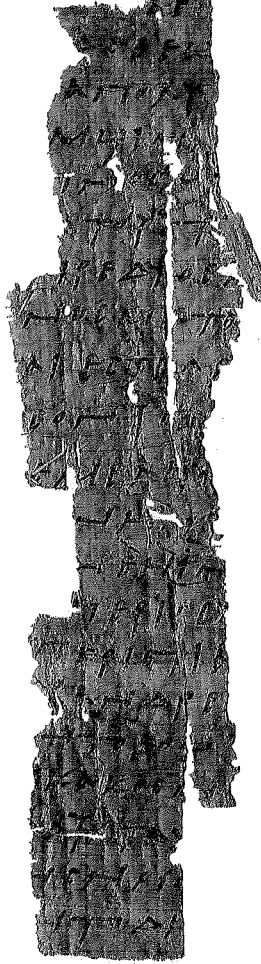
fr. 3



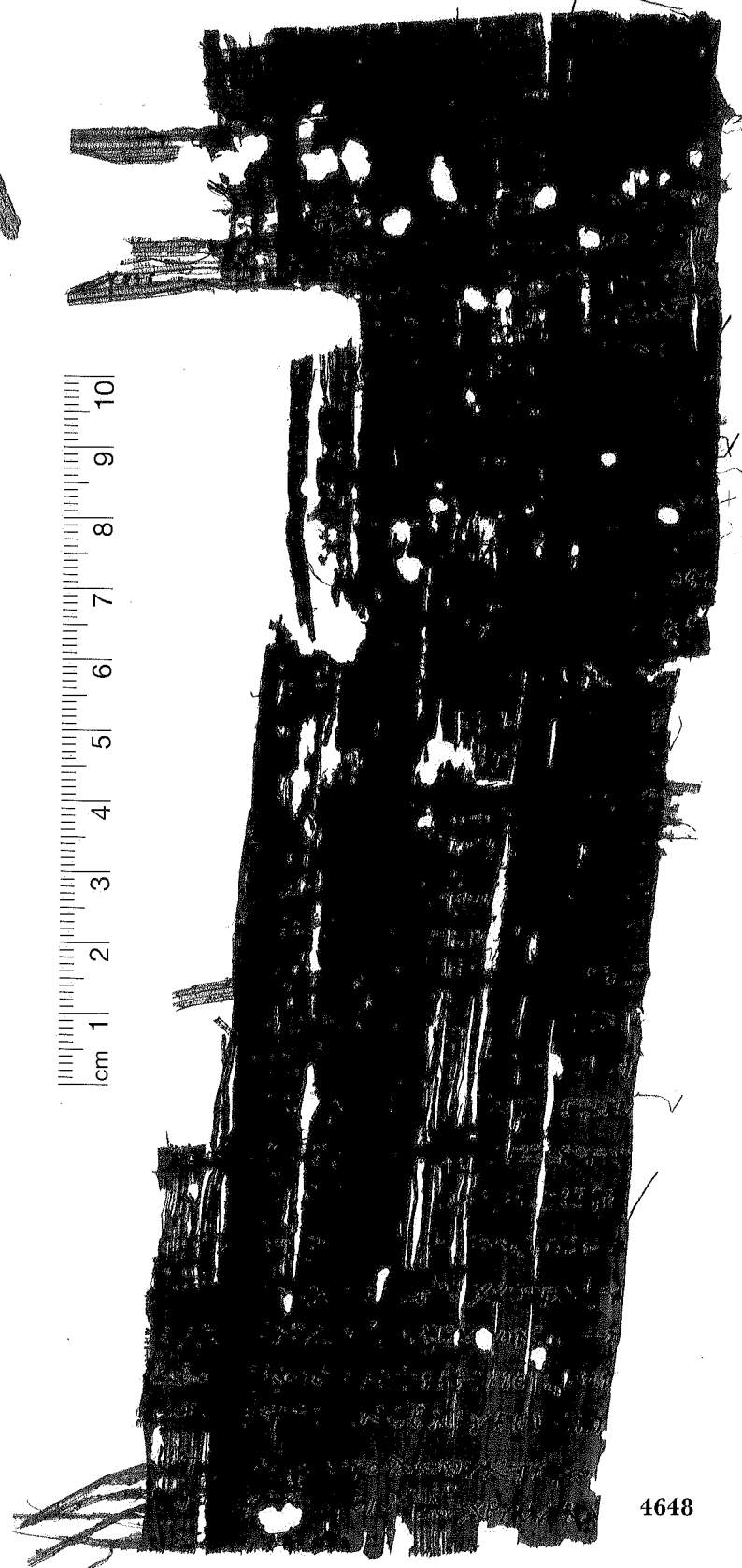
fr. 2

4647





4667



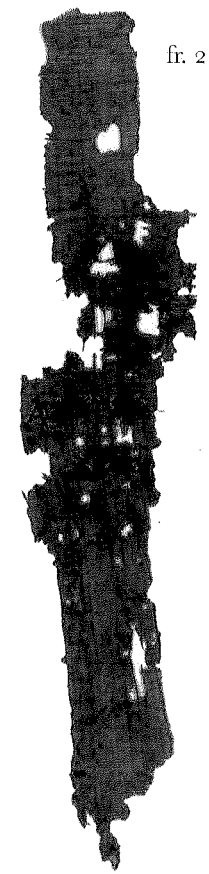
4648



4651



fr. 1



fr. 2



fr. 3

4646



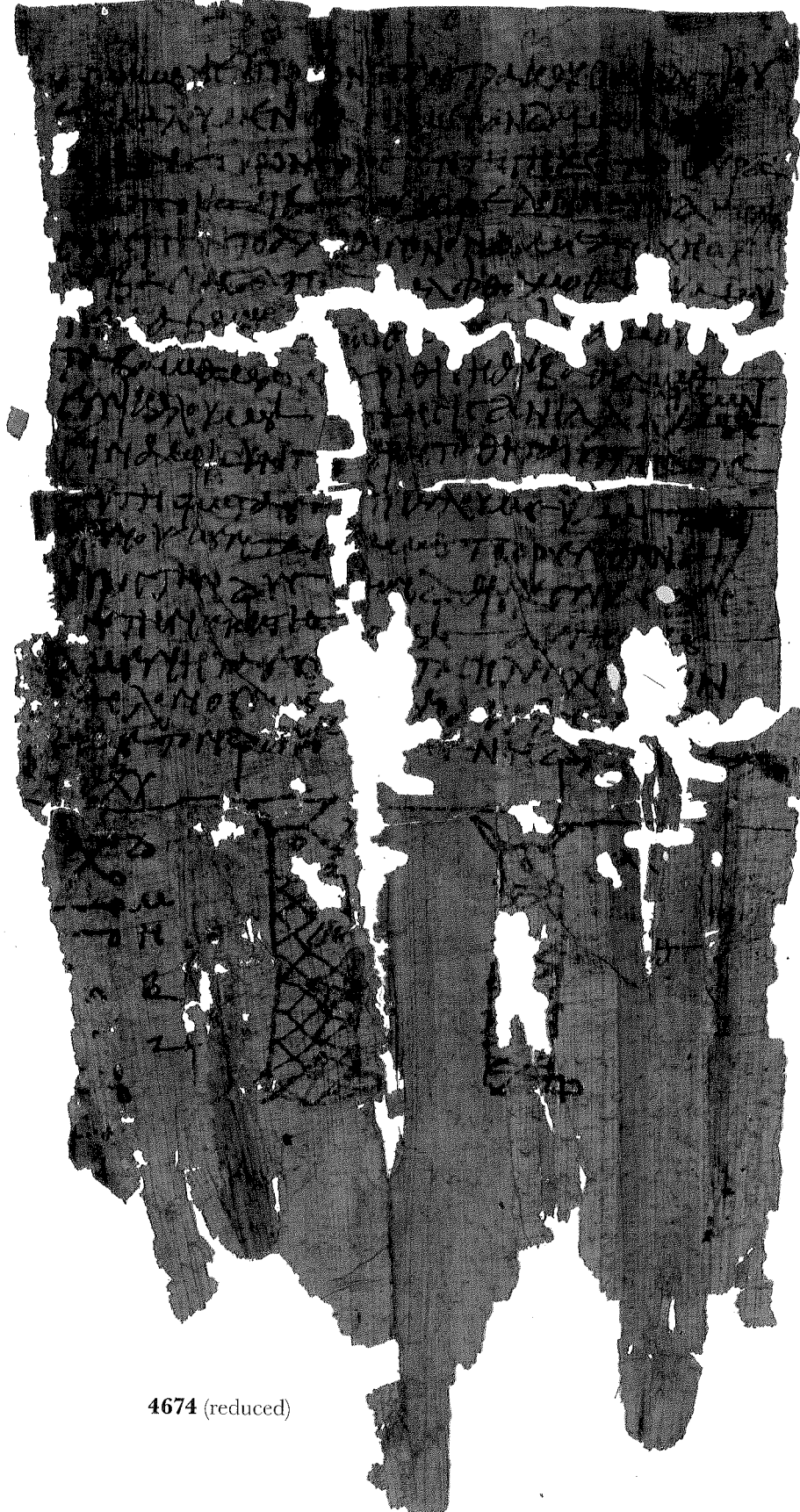
4650



4659







4674 (reduced)



4685



Fragmentary papyrus scrolls with Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage and overlapping fragments.

4687



Fragmentary papyrus scrolls with Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage and overlapping fragments.

4688



Handwritten text on a small, dark, rectangular fragment of material, possibly papyrus or parchment. The text is written in a cursive script and is partially obscured by a vertical tear down the center. The visible characters include what appears to be a date or reference number at the top, followed by several lines of text.

4677



Handwritten text on a larger, dark, rectangular fragment of material. The text is written in a cursive script and is partially obscured by several vertical tears. The visible characters include what appears to be a date or reference number at the top, followed by several lines of text.

4703